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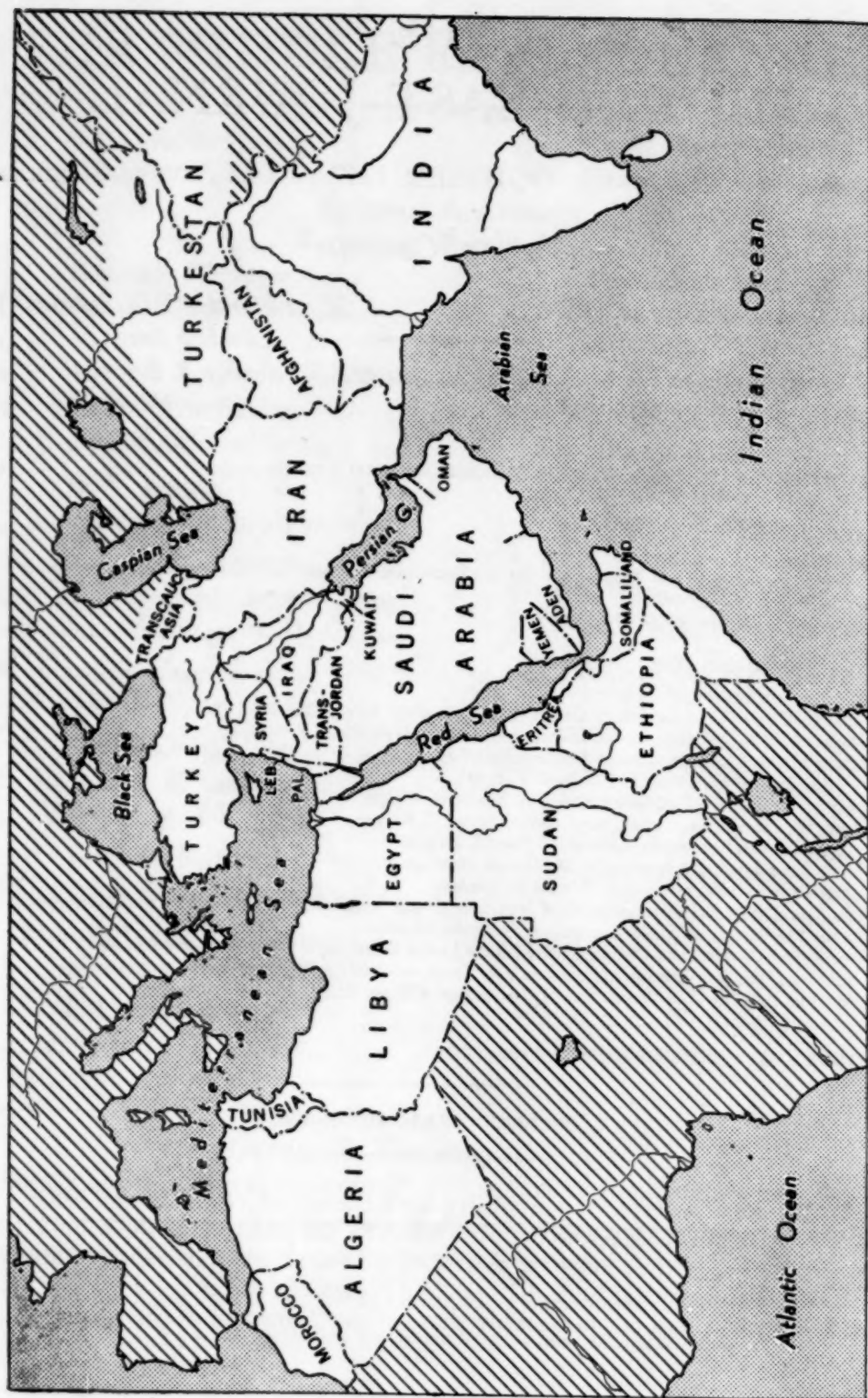
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*The Middle East*

# THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME I

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## HINDU-MOSLEM CONFLICT IN INDIA

*David G. Mandelbaum*

**N**OT OFTEN in history has a people taken two great steps in political development at the same time, yet the past year in India has seen both the drive for independence and the demand for a separate Pakistan become accomplished facts. The necessity for loosening the ties which held India to the British Empire is now generally granted; less clear is the need for and the consequences of division into the two new dominions of India and Pakistan. Whether the settlement will provide the political security which both so greatly need is still a question of the greatest importance.

▼ DAVID G. MANDELBAUM, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, conducted field research among the villagers and tribesmen of South India in 1937-38, under the auspices of the National Research Council and Yale University. During World War II he served as an intelligence officer in India and Burma.

To appraise the potentialities of recent events in India, it is necessary above all else to have some understanding of the complex factors which led to the realization of Pakistan. The victory of the Moslem League may be regarded as the outstanding political phenomenon of the past year. Yet it is obvious that the seeds of the League's victory lie deep in India's history and social structure. Religious beliefs and practices, cultural traditions, language, economic inequalities, the accidents and designs of British administration, emerging nationalisms, personalities — each of these has helped to round out the picture in its own fashion.

The differences between Moslems and Hindus, whether considered within a particular village or throughout the land, are not of the character or magnitude that they sometimes are made out to be. They are not differences of race, of biological, physical type. Most Indian Moslems are descendants of Hindus who became converts to Islam: the number of those who can justly claim unmixed ancestry from the comparatively few Islamic immigrants and invaders is so tiny as to be negligible. Nor are the differences markedly those of language. In every region, both Moslems and Hindus speak the same local dialect. The most widely used, Hindustani, was originally the speech of the area about Delhi, and became disseminated because Delhi was for some five centuries the center of Moslem rule. As Professor W. Norman Brown has recently pointed out, many Persian and Arabic words were introduced into this language; it came to be written by Moslems in the Arabic script and to be called "Urdu."<sup>1</sup> The same dialect is written by Hindus in the native Indian Devanagari script, and, for literary uses, with many borrowed Sanskrit terms; in this form the language is called "Hindi." But despite the variance in the form of script and in the turn of elegant literary phrases, both Urdu and Hindi are essentially the same language. However, the mere fact that Moslems used one script and Hindus another has meant that each rarely reads the other's books and scriptures.

In the realm of scripture, in the formal ideologies of the

<sup>1</sup> W. Norman Brown, "India's Pakistan Issue," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCI (1947), pp. 169-170.



respective religions, there is indeed the greatest difference between Islam and Hinduism. Hinduism is concerned mainly with the salvation of the individual soul: each individual worships alone for the sake of his own eternal balance sheet which attaches to him through his successive rebirths. Until recently it was so non-proselytizing that when the pundits of Benares were asked, about a century ago, whether large groups of Kashmiri Moslems who wanted to return to Hinduism could do so, they refused to allow such reconversions. Hinduism is little concerned with the political governance of men, nor does it have any great tradition that all Hindus should be under a single rule.

To such precepts the doctrines of Islam could hardly stand in greater contrast. Islam is a unitary dogma, whose followers worship in congregations, and which encourages the propagation of the true religion among all mankind. It rejects the orthodox Hindu notions of caste, and historically has been much concerned with states and governments. Those who have ranged themselves under the banner of Pakistan have done so as adherents of Islam. But while religion is the hallmark of this political allegiance, no one claims that religion is the prime cause for the political dichotomy. M. A. H. Ispahani, a prominent Moslem League spokesman, in writing of the differences that divide Hindus from Moslems in India, notes that "It is not a question of polytheism, pantheism, or monotheism, nor is it a question of theocratic administration."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Ispahani's opinion that religious dogma, as such, has little to do with the conflict can be borne out by examples from many phases of Indian life. The veneration and preservation of the cow is among the most sacred tenets of Hindu dogma. Yet in many parts of South India, where Moslems are a small minority and where Hinduism is the most orthodox, Moslems have been slaughtering cattle for food for centuries without interdiction from Hindu secular or religious authorities. The leaders of the Moslem League, although they attempt to fulfill the amenities befitting a Moslem in public position, make no claims to be particularly devout or fundamentalist practitioners of Islam.

The purely religious differences that exist are between Hindu-

<sup>2</sup> M. A. H. Ispahani, *The Case of Muslim India* (New York, 1946), p. 13.

ism and Islam, not between Hindu and Moslem. In the ordinary round of present-day life in India, ideal and theoretical tenets do not create any vast chasm in culture between the two groups. Whatever details of diet, dress, and custom distinguish a Moslem from a Hindu peasant of the Bengal countryside are small when contrasted with the variance in way of life as between the Bengali villager, whether Hindu or Moslem, and the Punjabi villager of either community. Even these regional differences, to the ethnologist's eye, appear only as variations upon the basic theme of Indian life.

Yet it is the reality of this basic theme that the Moslem separatist leaders are prepared to question: to them the outward manifestations are but the symptoms of a far deeper division. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, head of the Moslem League and now Governor-General of Pakistan, has maintained in innumerable speeches and statements that Hinduism and Islam in India "are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders."<sup>3</sup> Jinnah's familiar argument goes on to postulate certain basic ethnic differences between the groups, differences which the impartial observer, viewing the matter from the scientific rather than the partisan perspective, finds hard to confirm. But Mr. Jinnah is eminently correct in seeking the basis of the conflict in the social order of India. It is indeed true that the root causes of the political sundering of the land are to be found in the patterns of Indian social organization, although in themselves they need not have led to the kind of division that became necessary when they were brought into unhappy conjunction with political and economic factors which sharpened amiable communal distinctions into bitter rivalries for power.

## II

The root of communal conflict in India is to be found, therefore, not in the differences between the Hindu and Moslem ideologies themselves, but in the manner in which India's social structure has affected Moslem as well as Hindu groups, so that

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.



one has come to be pitted against the other. The people of India have long been divided into social compartments. A man is born into one of these groups, and this community delimits his social world. Within it he marries; by its traditions he frequently makes his living; his kin and his friends and his primary loyalties all cluster within the group. Historically, the caste system has had a certain flexibility: both individuals and groups could and did change their status in the caste hierarchy. But the basic principle of the social organization of India remained that of mutually exclusive groupings, the members of which were usually judged by the rest of society as part of their respective groups far more than as individuals.

The ideology of Islam repudiates such social barriers, at least within the fold of the faithful, and Moslems are, theoretically at any rate, opposed to such social compartments among men. But only a part of the people of India became converts to Islam, and often the conversions were made in large blocs; a whole community embraced the new religion, whether by conviction or armed persuasion. In assuming the new faith, such communities did not divest themselves of their traditional patterns of social isolation. In effect, Moslems became yet another community or caste within the land, and in time the divisions within the Moslem population, whether sectarian as between Sunni and Shiite, or occupational as between peasant and artisan, came to function in much the same way as the caste distinctions among Hindus.<sup>4</sup> Even among the tribal peoples of the far northwest of India, where there has been least impact of Hindu culture upon the Islamic folk, the caste idea and practice is not entirely lacking. Thus the nomadic Brahui have a class of lowly families who perform as minstrels and midwives as well as general menials, functions which are the lot of low castes throughout India.<sup>5</sup>

The communal principle of social organization is not unique to India. All peoples tend to group themselves into small, relatively compact communities. In most tribal and folk societies, considerations of kinship, of joint family and of clan, are very

<sup>4</sup> See J. H. Hutton, *Castle in India* (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 105-106.

<sup>5</sup> Denys Bray, *The Life History of a Brahui* (London, 1913), p. 7.

important. In modern states, kinship factors are vastly overshadowed by the affinities of the local group, whether it be neighborhood, district, or nation. As industrialization and urbanization change a society, there is generally a consequent loosening of kinship allegiances and a strengthening of national loyalties. Political statesmen in industrially backward countries usually do all in their power to strengthen allegiance to the idea of the nation at the cost of loyalty to the narrower circle of kin. Political leaders in India, both Hindu and Moslem, thus have spoken out against the existing caste system.

What has been unique to India is not the kind of communal grouping, but the degree to which communal distinctions have isolated one group from another, even though the two may live cheek by jowl in the same locality. This system of social organization is certainly weakening and there is no doubt that in the fullness of time it will be radically transformed. But it must be recognized that in village India, where some nine-tenths of the people of Pakistan and of the Indian Union live, society is still organized on a communal basis.

Each community within a village cherishes some bit of custom, some practice which is distinctive to that group, and which supposedly marks its social superiority to some other group. For no community is so lowly that it does not consider some other below it on the social scale. The actual differences may be of the most trivial sort — a kind of nose ornament, a fashion of dress — but because they are badges of social status, they are cherished, defended, and not infrequently interpreted to connote a whole way of life. The villager views the ways of his neighbor through the lens of the common communal outlook; deviations in custom are magnified into the stigmas which set apart other men from the close, co-operating circle of his own kin. In times of tension, when the countryman is fearful and frustrated, he and his kin — like men the world over — seek to do something about their misery, to blame someone for their plight. Nearest to hand are the neighbors of the out-group, of the other community. When the impulse to lash out becomes sufficiently strong, almost any small incident can serve as the trigger to release an outburst of fierce and riotous violence.

Riots are an old story in India and are not infrequently drawn on social rather than religious lines. Some of the worst rioting in the record of Indian history has occurred in South India between two factions of the lower castes among Hindus, known as the Right-Hand and the Left-Hand castes. Prominent as protagonists of the respective factions have been the low castes of Mala and Madiga. Professor J. H. Hutton relates that "the Chindu dance performed by Madigas with bells on their legs, at marriages and festivals generally, has had to be prohibited in several districts on account of its infuriating effect on the Malas and of the resulting riots."<sup>6</sup> Similarly, there have been bitter and bloody riots between Moslem and Moslem. Outbreaks between Sunni and Shiite went on for many years, with an intensity which rivaled factional strife between any other two groups.

In recent decades there has frequently been added to the existing social distance between Moslem and Hindu the further barrier of economic class disparity, heightening the latent communal discord. Thus the outbreak of 1907 in Mymensingh was a rising of Moslem peasants against Hindu landlords and creditors; the Bombay riots of 1929 were primarily between striking Hindu mill-workers and deliberately chosen Moslem (Pathan) strike-breakers. In this instance, the antagonism was increased because some of the Pathans were also money-lenders.<sup>7</sup>

Especially in the villages of the northwest, where Hindus are often the money-lenders and Moslems the peasants, and of the northeast, where the Moslems are frequently tenants of Hindu landlords, there has been this combining of communal and economic motivation for friction between Hindu and Moslem. When there is economic reason for antagonism, the emotional pull of religion rallies and intensifies the forces of violence. In smashing the shop of the Hindu money-lender, the aroused mob does not hesitate to go on to destroy the Hindu peasant's cattle and crop.

But in spite of the increasing crystallization of the lines of physical strife as between Hindu and Moslem, such outbreaks

<sup>6</sup> J. H. Hutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (Lahore edition, 1943), p. 206 ff.

were, until the last few years, limited in area, in scope, and in duration. They flared for several hours or days within a restricted locality; on the next day the shutters of the Hindu shops were opened, business soon went on as usual, and the Hindu farmer sought out his family's Moslem weaver to get a particularly fine piece of cloth for his son's wedding.

In most of village India, even in the sections where violence was most frequent, the outbreaks were sporadic instances in scattered places. And in these very places of riot, the respective communities soon returned to the pattern of their previous relations, of amiable aloofness from each other in most social interaction, of traditional co-operation in the exchange of goods and services, and in the operation of local governmental affairs. Hindu and Moslem villagers occasionally engaged in skirmishes, and each skirmish added to the general legacy of communal ill will, but there was no constant warfare, and little continuous rivalry.

There was, indeed, a certain constant rivalry between Moslem and Hindu, but it went on among the upper and middle classes, not at the level of the peasant. This rivalry originated in the past century. When the British began to establish themselves in the country, they did so from the south, east, and west, in regions that were predominantly Hindu. By the time the Moslem centers of population were brought under British influence, there was already in existence a class of Hindus who were educated in the ways of the English and adapted to the economic role which the Indian middle class could play. In addition to the disadvantage of a late start, the growth of a Moslem middle class was hampered by a fundamentalist reaction against Western influence, and even more by the aftereffects of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. British policy held the Moslems responsible for the rebellion, and for a decade afterwards deliberately discriminated against them in governmental and private employment and in educational opportunities.<sup>8</sup>

The British Government reversed this policy in the 1870's. Opportunities for education and for professional employment

<sup>8</sup> For a more extensive analysis of this process see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-205; and Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-76.



were opened to Moslems, and under the leadership of the statesman Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) a Moslem bourgeoisie began to develop. But it has never attained the proportional strength and influence of the middle classes among Hindus, and it has been ever conscious, in communal terms, of its relative weakness.

Under the imperial regime, there has always been a good deal of middle-class unemployment. Opportunities for educated Indians in industry and the professions were limited; the competition for the most glittering careers in government service was fierce and virulent. Only a few of the competitors could be successful, and those few lived with the uneasy feeling that they could still be outdone in the struggle for advancement by others who had better connections or a better start. Given the communal outlook so deep-rooted in India, many a middle-class Moslem could hardly help but feel that his would have been the better post, his the richer profit, if only Moslems had a more equal footing with Hindus.

The emergent middle class among the Hindus was developing at this time a strong nationalist sentiment, and its leaders tried to deny and do away with the old communal psychology which they knew was inherently antipathetic to a vigorous nationalist movement. There were Moslems, especially in the generation which was the first to take on Western education and ideas, who joined the nationalist forces and became prominent in the general fight for independence. Not all did so, however. Jawaharlal Nehru aptly summarizes their dilemma: "Indian nationalism was dominated by Hindus and had a hinduized look. So a conflict arose in the Moslem mind; many accepted that nationalism, trying to influence it in the direction of their choice; many sympathized with it and yet remained aloof, uncertain; and yet many others began to drift in a separatist direction for which Iqbal's poetic and philosophic approach had prepared them."<sup>9</sup>

The poet Mohammed Iqbal (1873-1938) expounded, in vigorous and beautiful language, a message which educated Moslems wanted to hear. It was a cry of hope and a vision of future

<sup>9</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (New York, 1946), p. 353.

greatness; it was a call to action and a denunciation of injustice. Iqbal's life and writings were full of inconsistencies: he praised and later damned Mussolini; in one polemic he excoriated Lenin and later wrote of him in terms of glowing praise; he advocated Hindu-Moslem unity and was one of the earliest to propose a separate Moslem state.<sup>10</sup> But he had no need to be consistent. The invigorating tenor of his talk exhilarated his Moslem compatriots, and the part of his message that took hold had to do with the past triumphs of Islam and its future glories. His contagious ardor helped buoy the emotions of those Moslems who were feeling the drag of colonialism. Hindu nationalists in the same despondency took heart in looking back to the great cultural and political achievements of ancient India. The prevailing communal pattern of thought blocked Moslems from sharing in a common vision of the past. The ancients of India were of another community; Moslems gained inspiration from contemplating the greatness of Islam, and that largely in countries beyond India. There have been notable exceptions to K. M. Panikkar's observation that "every Mohammedan, even if his family embraced Islam during the last generation, feels that he is the inheritor of the culture of the Saracens and of the Spanish Moors, and is an alien to the inheritance of India."<sup>11</sup> But it was frequently true.

This psychological alienation was reinforced by the opposition between the two communities in politics. The Moslem middle class, late in getting started, lagged behind the political development of the Hindu bourgeoisie. Hence at any particular point of time, most politically conscious Moslems were at the stage that Hindus of the same class had reached some twenty years before, had abandoned, and now opposed. Just after the Mutiny, the remaining Moslem landlords were repelled by the westernization of the new professional class, which was largely Hindu. When a Moslem professional class did come into being, it feared to endanger its new status and proclaimed its loyalty to the British. This at a time when the more advanced professional group, again predominantly Hindu, was becoming strongly nationalist and anti-

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-184.

<sup>11</sup> K. M. Panikkar, "The Psychology of the Hindu-Muslim Riots," *Contemporary Review*, CXXXI (1927), p. 233.



British. Again, in recent years, the Moslem professional and landed classes have had different interests from those of the influential industrialists who were mainly non-Moslem.

An example of this lag is contained in the resolutions of the first sessions of the Moslem League in 1906, which were "an almost word-for-word repetition, along communal lines, of those of the early Congress twenty years before."<sup>12</sup> The resolutions averred loyalty to the Empire, asked for more jobs for Moslems in government service, and greater representation in the new councils.

### III

By the early years of the twentieth century, Moslem communal consciousness, rooted in India's social structure, nurtured upon a sense of inferiority in the constantly tightening struggle for economic well-being, and fostered by the growing awareness of a national Islamic heritage, was well on its way toward formal political expression. The Moslem League was founded during the nationalist upsurge which followed the partition of Bengal in 1905. The partition seemed to the advantage of the middle-class Moslems since it separated the predominantly Moslem eastern Bengal from the rest of the province, and so provided an enclave of posts in a provincial service which would be comparatively free from competition with Hindus. The rising Hindu middle classes viewed the partition as an infamous British cabal to vivisect the most progressive province of the land. They fought the issue aggressively, exuberantly, and, as they thought, on a nationalist plane. But to the yet loyal Moslems, it appeared as a communal fight, fought and finally won by the Hindus when the partition was later rescinded.

The codification of communal rivalry into the formal political procedure of the country came with the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909, which brought into being an electorate and gave it a limited representation in the government. But the electorate was split by communities, so that Moslems voted for Moslem candidates, Sikhs for Sikh candidates, and so on through several smaller communities, with the "general constituency" being largely

<sup>12</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

equivalent to the Hindu community. The minorities were given somewhat more representation than their strictly numerical proportions warranted.

This seemed to the British to be a fair sort of arrangement. It was what Moslems and other minorities wanted and the kind of system Indians understood. Indeed, it is advantageous in an oligarchy to have each segment of the body politic organized to present its case for adjudication by the oligarchic power. Neither Lord Minto nor Lord Morley envisaged the abdication of British rule.

It was a truly drastic step away from the path toward a federal democracy. Thenceforth, elected representatives of minorities naturally tended to hold that their primary loyalty was to the community which they represented, rather than to the country in which they lived. It encouraged the very aspect of Indian society which was inimical to the growth of a unified nation. This was fully realized by the authors of the next series of political reforms for India. In their report of 1918, Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu wrote that the communal division in government meant the creation of political camps organized against each other, and taught men to think as partisans and not as citizens.<sup>18</sup> But by then it was not possible to eliminate the communal scheme of representation.

Nor were most British officials particularly anxious to see a communal rapprochement. Penderel Moon, who was himself a member of the Indian Civil Service, portrays the prevailing official attitude in his penetrating little book, *Strangers in India*. One of Moon's characters, the official he calls Lightfoot, remarks that under British rule both parties have been allowed to clamor and found that clamoring paid. The divisions could not just be quietly forgotten. "That we should have made use of these divisions for our own purposes was so natural and so inevitable that I see no need to be apologetic about it; and to deny it is absurd. In the early days of our rule we made no bones about it. 'Divide et impera' was freely acknowledged as a proper principle for our Government of India. . . . I well remember during the 1919 disturbances the surprise and alarm caused by the unprecedented

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in R. Coupland, *India, A Re-Statement* (Oxford, 1945), p. 106.

fraternization of Hindus and Muslims. It seemed to us a most disturbing symptom . . .”<sup>14</sup>

The record, indeed, is not one of unrelieved political opposition between the communities. There were pacts between the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress and there were some notable occasions on which the two worked together. But the eras of good feeling were brief. The disruptive forces — social, economic, and political — soon negated efforts toward amalgamation.

During the nineteen twenties and early thirties the center of the political stage in India was occupied by the All-India Congress. Under Gandhi's leadership, it made great strides and built a political machine which reached down into the villages. The Moslem League remained a comparatively small organization which was mainly supported by landed proprietors and professional men. From 1924 on, its leading spirit has been Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

Jinnah's talents and personality have molded the Moslem League. Not long ago he described himself as a “very cold-blooded logician.” His years of steadfast and successful tactical maneuvering, of cool administrative manipulation, bear that out. His control over policies and appointments in the Moslem League has been absolute. But to his followers he is much more than a consummate politician, he is *qaid-i-'azam*, the Great Leader. They speak of him in almost religious terms, as both inspiration and final authority.

The number of these followers grew rather slowly for a time. It was not until 1936 that Jinnah launched the League on a campaign to widen the base of its membership. It was done to win votes for the 1937 elections, which marked a greater extension of self-government to Indians than they had ever had before. But the grant of political power and responsibility came in the usual communal wrappings, and led to more communal bitterness in the struggle to share in that power.

The Moslem League had not attained the full tide of its popularity in 1937. Less than a fourth of the Moslems elected to office in the provincial elections, 110 out of 482, were Moslem

<sup>14</sup> Penderel Moon, *Strangers in India* (New York, 1945), pp. 81-82.

League candidates. Congress candidates were highly successful and Congress ministries were established in seven of the eleven provinces. It was during the years 1937-39, when these ministries held office, that the Congress policy intensified Moslem communal solidarity, rather than mitigating it as nationalists desired. Acting as a successful political party would in the West, the central Congress leadership parcelled out the plums of office to faithful party cohorts, some of whom, indeed, were Moslems. But the Moslem League was ignored. Psychologically prepared to feel themselves discriminated against as a community, many Moslems took this as proof that a complete Congress victory would lead to a completely Hindu Raj and to the total subordination of their community. This was felt keenly in the Moslem-minority provinces, especially in the United Provinces where the Moslem middle class was wealthiest and most advanced. From these provinces came the strongest support for the Moslem League.

In the Moslem-majority provinces, as the Punjab, there was also increasing Moslem disquiet. It was not lessened by the activities of the Hindu communalist organization, the Mahasabha. The Mahasabha was eventually proved to have only a minuscule following — in the 1945-46 elections it won only 3 of 1,585 contests in the provincial elections — but by then Moslems were all too ready to believe that the strident, bellicose propaganda of the Mahasabha was the voice of all Hindudom. As W. C. Smith has noted, communalism is a vicious spiral. The more one group is communal and separatist, the more the other group from which it is separate becomes self-conscious.<sup>16</sup> To the degree that Hindu communalism did exist, it exasperated and seemed to justify Moslem communalism. The argument of non-communalism, that all groups within India should be treated equally, seemed hypocritical to the Moslem mind, believing, as it did, that the Hindu middle class possessed so many advantages over the Moslem middle class that to treat both equally would be to favor the stronger.

The Moslem League grew mightily in strength during World War II. The stand for a separate Moslem state was not adopted until the Lahore convention of 1940, and even then one competent

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 216.



American observer who was at the meetings and heard the back-stage conversations thought that the resolution for Pakistan was intended more as a bargaining lever than as an unalterable statement of purpose. Other American and European correspondents shared the same opinion. But the Pakistan slogan gripped the imagination and the allegiance of the great majority of middle-class Moslems. The Pakistan issue swept the League to an overwhelming victory among the Moslem electorate in the elections of 1945-46. By the end of the war, non-communalism had ceased to be an alternative possible of consideration.

The Moslem League victory went deeper than the restricted scope of upper-class Moslems who could and did vote. It captured the Moslem villager. The war years had brought uncertainty and uneasiness throughout the land. Inflation and food shortages had heightened anxiety everywhere. In the villages it was realized that the British Raj was nearly over, and the general insecurity of the Moslem peasant was enhanced by fears concerning the future government. These fears were roiled by communalist newspapers, whose invective percolated through the villages. Communalism is a great unifier of anxieties and fears, a ready channel for the consequent impulses of aggression.

The aggression burst out first and fiercest in the cities. There has long been a floating population of men and boys, known as *goondas*, in the large cities, who live on the lowest level of subsistence, who are frequently homeless, who jump into the slightest fray with the prospect of getting a bit of loot. Under the prevailing tension of the past years, quarrels quickly drew mobs, and the mobs quickly turned any quarrel into an excuse for *goondas* to pillage and riot. All disturbances became communal disturbances, and the riots spread to the countryside. This rioting was shocking in its intensity and devastation. Those who had been moderates now chose sides. The opportunity for even a communal compromise was past, and it is to Lord Mountbatten's credit that he realized the terrible temper of the times and worked rapidly to bring about the only solution that is acceptable to both sides, a partition of India.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Since communal dissension has been so much a factor in recent developments, it is frequently forgotten that among the quarter of India's population living in the native states, communal

The two new dominions will have to solve a series of communal problems. There are sizable minorities in each — of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan, of Moslems in the Indian Union — and the minorities will not readily give up attempts toward special representation and privilege. The difficult task of working out a satisfactory relationship with the princes will be complicated by the presence of such Moslem-ruled states as Hyderabad within the borders of the Indian Union, and of Hindu-ruled Kashmir partly enclosed by Pakistan. The boundaries between the countries are necessarily arbitrary in many places, not following natural geographic features or demographic frontiers. On either side of these difficult boundaries will be army patrols that might become trigger-happy if people of the border regions continue to be tense and embittered.

Economists forecast continued food shortages, especially in the eastern part of Pakistan and the adjoining parts of the Indian Union. During the last two years, comprehensive administrative measures have been needed to avert disastrous famines. Considerable administrative efficiency will be necessary to forestall widespread hunger; the disorientation of administrative procedures following partition will not increase that efficiency. It is not to be expected that the part of the press that has been venomously partisan will mellow overnight, and it will be all too easy to blame the other country for the plight of one's own land. The vicious cycle of communalism may be set in motion again, but now on an international plane.

Fortunately there are forces which will work to avert this cycle. Each country will have a stronger central government than would have been possible under any feasible federation, and each can set up the central machinery necessary to deal with its own peculiar problems. The former leaders of the Congress and of the Moslem League who will operate this machinery of government may be expected to act somewhat more temperately as responsible heads of government than they did as directors of opposition parties.

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distinctions have never been allowed to become political issues. It was not to the interest of the princes to have one group of their subjects at political odds with another, and they have discouraged village factionalism and middle-class rivalry from becoming political separatism.



In many fields the heads of the new governments will find themselves in agreement. This has already been demonstrated by the quick reaction of both the Indian Union and Pakistan in sympathy for the Indonesians when the Dutch began military operations in the summer of 1947. There has been similar unanimity of attitude concerning other matters before the United Nations.

In the economic sphere, both governments will be anxious to raise the very low standard of living in their countries. Yet it is obvious that the economies of the two are so closely and inextricably intertwined that one can flourish only if it is supported and supplemented by a healthy economy in the other. Continued communal dissension can lead only to continued poverty. As this comes to be increasingly realized in each country, it may be hoped that the forces which generate communal friction will be tolerated no longer. But not until a fundamental change takes place in the basic communal character of India's social structure, will the bitterness between Hindu and Moslem which has been breeding over the years be struck at the root. Foresighted social and political measures can hasten such change, which economic developments have already set in motion.

# SOVIET POLICY IN TURKESTAN

*Elizabeth Bacon*

**T**URKESTAN at the time of the Soviet Revolution in 1917 was both geographically and culturally an extension of the Iranian plateau. The low mountains which run along the political border have never been a deterrent to the movement of peoples between Iran and Turkestan. The climates are similar, with an aridity which necessitates irrigation for the practice of agriculture. The steppes which roll north from Turkestan proper into Siberia differ in form from the treeless hills and plains of the Middle East, but in climate and potentialities for utilization are comparable to them and, like them, have been for many centuries the natural home of pastoral nomads.

From prehistoric times Turkestan has enjoyed cultural contacts with the Iranian plateau. The same type of city state developed there as in Iran and Mesopotamia, peopled by artisans and merchants, and by peasant farmers tilling the lands where irrigation was possible. Indeed, on many occasions in historical times Turkestan has been an appanage of Iran; and on at least two occasions, under Khwarezm (the medieval Khiva) in the late twelfth century, and under Timur, at the end of the fourteenth century, Iran was an appanage of Turkestan.

When the Russians began to extend their boundaries into Central Asia in the nineteenth century, the former Iranian inhabitants of the river plains had been pushed eastward into the

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mountains of Kokand (Ferghana), and the cities and plains of Turkestan proper were occupied by the Turko-Mongol Uzbek khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, with governments which were backward replicas of the nineteenth-century Persian court. In a band stretching eastward from the Caspian and extending into northern Iran and northwestern Afghanistan, the Turkomans, unlike their relatives, the Azerbaijani and Osmanli Turks, continued their nomadic life. Just south of the Aral Sea was a small enclave of Kara-Kalpaks; in the high Pamirs bordering China, the Kara Kirghiz; and occupying the vast steppe stretching northward to Siberia, the Kazak (Kirghiz) — all Turko-Mongolian nomads who, like the Uzbeks, had moved into western Asia in the thirteenth century at the time of Genghiz Khan.<sup>1</sup>

When Turkestan was taken over by the Russians through direct conquest, in the period between 1847 and 1884,<sup>2</sup> the khanates of Khiva and Bokhara were allowed to remain autonomous, suffering only loss of control over their foreign relations and a certain manipulation of trade to the advantage of Russian products. As a result, their medieval structure was preserved in isolated decadence until 1917. In accepted oriental style, the Khans taxed their subjects without mercy and milked merchants for "loans" to maintain the petty luxury of their courts and courtiers. The Moslem church exerted great power over state and people; Jewish merchants were still subject to the disabilities imposed on both Jews and Christians in the eighth century by the Umayyad Caliph Umar II. As in Iran and other countries of the Middle East, there was a vast social and economic gap between peasant and laborer on the one hand, and ruling families and wealthy merchants on the other.

The Khanate of Kokand, resisting any Russian curtailment of

<sup>1</sup> The people who call themselves Kazak were known by the Russians as Kirghiz, or Kirghiz Kaissak, while the true Kirghiz were known as Kara Kirghiz. It was not until 1925, when this discrepancy was called to the attention of the Moscow government, that these two peoples regained their preferred names.

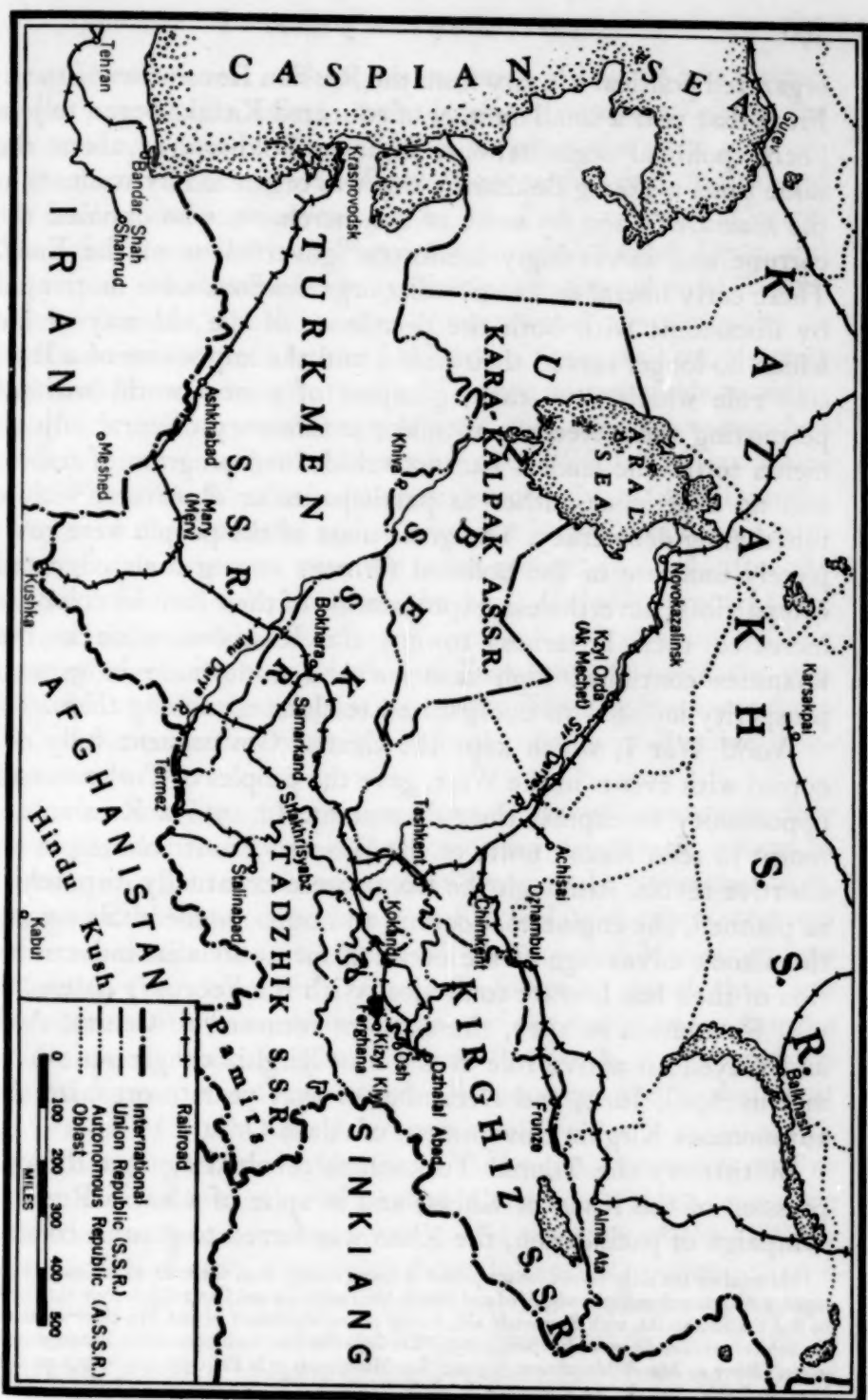
<sup>2</sup> These dates refer to the conquest of Turkestan, the first marking the establishment of a Russian army on the banks of the Syr-Darya near the Aral Sea, the second, the annexation of Merv. Much of present Kazakhstan was occupied by a gradual extension of the Cossack defensive line southward from the Government of Western Siberia and from Orenbourg (Orsk), which was founded by the Russians in 1736. The first Turkoman tribe formally became vassal to the Czarist Government in 1803, and a fort was built, but soon abandoned, in Turkoman territory on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea during an unsuccessful Russian campaign against Khiva in 1715-17.

its privileges, was placed under direct Russian administration, and Tashkent became the capital of the Russian Government of Turkestan. As in colonial areas in other parts of the world, attempts were made at indirect rule through codification of customary law and local administration of the indigenous peoples by their own leaders. The results of these efforts were confusing both to the rulers and the ruled. In general, peasants were relieved of the burdensome taxation imposed in the khanates, but lost their land to Russian colonists. The old ruling classes lost their power, while a new middle class began to emerge as a result of the agricultural and industrial development of the area. Educational facilities for the native population were limited and designed to Russianize the students, but they did provide a channel by which Western European ideas might trickle in.

The tribal population suffered the fate of tribesmen everywhere upon the advent of Western influence. Those who occupied territories unsuited to agriculture or industry were able, after a fashion, to continue their old nomadic life. Their pasture lands were increasingly circumscribed by Russian colonial expansion, however, and those who depended on brigandage to supplement their stock-breeding economy found this source of livelihood menaced by Russian troops with superior fighting equipment. The majority of the tribesmen,<sup>3</sup> particularly among the Kazaks, saw the gradual breakdown of their nomadic organization without any compensatory gain. Those forced to give up nomadism became for the most part peasants or laborers of the poorest sort, with little prosperity in trade or industry to replace the lost pastures. Few as the schools were for any of the native peoples of the area, they were even rarer for the tribesmen, and those, usually of chiefly rank, who were educated in Russian schools tended to settle in the cities.

Western political concepts were late in penetrating Turkestan. Whereas Persian liberals, inspired by the democratic teaching of Western Europe, were sufficiently advanced to effect a constitutional revolution in 1906, the people of Turkestan received their first stimulus toward democratic or, for that matter, any kind of

<sup>3</sup> The Kara Kirghiz, who ranged the high mountains of the Pamirs, were little touched by Russian rule.



*Soviet Turkistan*



organized political activity from the Russian Revolution of 1905.<sup>4</sup> From that year a small number of educated Kazaks began to join liberal political organizations, while in Bokhara, at about the same time, a Young Bokhara Party was organized by students in the *madraseh's* and by some of the merchants who opposed the corrupt and increasingly ineffectual government of the Emir. These early liberal and nationalist organizations were motivated by discontent with both the decadence of the old way of life which no longer served their needs, and the imposition of a Russian rule which gave them glimpses of a new world without permitting them freedom to make satisfactory cultural adjustments to it. The leaders had no well-defined program of reform and no experience, either as participants or observers, with a functioning democracy. The great mass of the people were completely unaware of the political ferment among their educated compatriots; nevertheless, expropriation of their land by colonists increased their bitterness toward the Russians, while in the khanates continued high taxation and a decrease in general prosperity induced an unorganized restlessness among them.

World War I, which kept the Czarist Government fully occupied with events in the West, gave the peoples of Turkestan an opportunity to express their discontent. In 1916 a Russian attempt to send Kazak units to the Western Front resulted in an abortive revolt. Although the troops were eventually dispatched as planned, the engineers, doctors, and other intellectuals among them took advantage of the occasion for nationalist indoctrination of their less literate comrades. With the February (Menshevik) Revolution in 1917, these troops returned to Central Asia and played an active role in the Pan-Kirghiz congresses which met in April, June, and December of that year to organize the autonomous Kirghiz Government of Alash-Orda.

In 1916-17 the Yomud Turkomans revolted against the oppression of the Khan of Khiva, and in spite of a harsh Russian campaign of pacification, the Khan was forced to grant a consti-

<sup>4</sup> Material on the early revolutionary period is drawn chiefly from the writings of Joseph Castagné, a French archaeologist who lived and traveled in Turkestan and Central Asia from 1910 until he fled the Bolsheviks, with Basmatchi aid, during the revolutionary period. His chief works on the subject are: *Les Basmatchis* (Paris, 1925); "Les Organisations soviétiques de la Russie musulmane," *Revue du Monde Musulmane*, (1922); "Les Musulmans et la Politique des Soviets en Asie Centrale," *ibid.*, (1925); "Le Turkestan depuis la Révolution Russe (1917-1921)," *ibid.*, (1922).



tution. Nevertheless, although a majority of liberals was elected to the new Majlis, efforts toward reform were blocked by the reactionary elements who sought to maintain the *status quo*.

On the eve of the October Revolution we thus find three liberal or nationalist movements stirring in Turkestan and Central Asia: the Young Bokhara Party, the Kazaks of Alash-Orda, and a group in Khiva which was receiving military aid from Turkoman tribesmen, much as the constitutional revolutionists in Persia were supported by the Bakhtiari's. Once the heat of revolt had died down, however, the liberals were no more able to maintain their reform movement against the strongly entrenched conservatives than were liberals in other Middle Eastern countries. The tribal Kazaks had a more democratic tradition than the peoples of the khanates, and so were not immediately faced with internal dissension, as were the other groups. In 1918, after the rise of Bolshevik rule, however, the Alash-Orda Government was ordered destroyed as "bourgeois," for the Kazak nationalists, like most of the indigenous liberals of Turkestan, followed the pre-World War I democratic tradition exemplified by France and the United States rather than the radical theories of Russian communism.

At the same time that these nationalist groups were trying their strength, there was also a movement for democratic reform in Turkestan which cut across nationality lines. In November 1917, a regional Moslem congress met at Kokand, with representatives from various professional, political, and regional Moslem groups as well as Jewish organizations; in the following month there was organized a Provisional Government of the Autonomous Peoples of Turkestan. Anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik, it proposed the establishment of a Government of Turkestan and a southwest federation of Moslem governments.

Although most of the liberals in Turkestan, Russian as well as native, were democrats rather than communists, there were some Marxists to be found among them. At the time of the October Revolution of 1917, a group of these Bolsheviks managed to gain control of the government of Tashkent. The resultant regime was so harsh and chaotic that it aroused great antagonism. Early in 1918 the Russian workers of the Transcaspian Railroad revolted

against the Bolsheviks and set up an independent provisional government at Ashkhabad in alliance with the Tekke Turkomans. Russian Mensheviks called in British aid, and Ashkhabad was not regained by the Bolsheviks until the following year, when an advancing Red Army forced the withdrawal of British Indian troops.

In February 1918, the Bolshevik army from Tashkent captured and burned Kokand, and imprisoned the members of the Provisional Government there. When a second army marched toward Bokhara in the spring, the Young Bokhara Party tried to take over the government. The army was unable to fight its way through to the city, however, and the unsuccessful revolt was followed by a general massacre of Russians living within the Khanate and by the murder of some of the most able leaders of the Young Bokhara movement.

After an outbreak in Tashkent itself in January 1919, led by the Left Social Revolutionaries, who had formerly collaborated with the Bolsheviks, a "Commission of Turkestan" was sent from Moscow to replace the original Executive Committee. This Moscow commission pursued a policy more calculated to win the good will of the native population than was its predecessor. Freedom of trade was granted to Moslems (though not to Russians), thus bringing food back into the markets. Tadjik and Kazak nationalists who had been imprisoned were released, and the Red Army troops fighting the Basmachi<sup>5</sup> in Ferghana were recalled.

In January 1919, the Khan of Khiva fled, and in June the Russian communists aided liberals of Khiva to establish a Republic of Khwarezm. The following year, in September 1920, the Red Army supported local elements to overthrow the Khan of Bokhara and form the Republic of Bokhara. Finally, when the Bolshevik occupation of Orenbourg and a part of the Orenbourg-Tashkent railroad isolated the eastern and western branches of the Alash-Orda, the Kazaks joined forces with Kolchak's army in Siberia and with the Bashkirs and Uralsk Cossacks in the west, and fell automatically upon the defeat of their allies.

<sup>5</sup> The Basmachi were bands of guerilla fighters, some bandits, some political opponents of the Bolsheviks. At first active throughout Bokhara, they were gradually forced back into the mountains of Ferghana, where the last of them were wiped out in 1926.

Thus during the early years of the Russian Revolution, the Moscow Bolsheviks showed a determination to gain control of Turkestan and Central Asia by any means available, including use of the Red Army, which in Turkestan derived much of its strength from Hungarian and German prisoners of war released at the time of the October Revolution. The new governments established were not, for the most part, representative of the local population, since there were very few native trained leaders sympathetic to the Bolshevik cause. Although ninety-five per cent of the population of Turkestan was Moslem, the government at Tashkent had only two Moslems in its Executive Committee of nine members, and four in its Regional Council of twenty-four members.

Where local elements were co-operative, the Bolsheviks were ready to compromise in the form of government established. Khiva, as the Republic of Khwarezm, provided for the Soviet form of administrative structure in its constitution, but proceeded cautiously in putting into effect socialist measures which might antagonize the population. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic showed respect for this national feeling by formally recognizing the complete autonomy of Khwarezm, and on September 13, 1920, a treaty of alliance and an economic accord were signed between the two "independent" countries. In Bokhara the constitution followed a Western European republican model, calling for universal suffrage and recognizing rights of property, freedom of trade and industry, freedom of speech and assembly, and respect for the rights of the individual. In both cases the temporary compromise was used by the Bolsheviks as a means of gaining control of the government by peaceful infiltration. In Bokhara, where hostility to the Bolsheviks was considerable and the exactions of the Red Army particularly repressive, a number of liberal leaders fled to Afghanistan or joined the Basmatchi rather than attempt further co-operation.

Meanwhile, a concerted attempt was being made to draw the native peoples into the new governments and into the Communist Party. Peasants and workers, for the most part not only ignorant of but indifferent to the Soviet cause, were organized wherever and however possible for indoctrination and for the mass demon-

strations which the Soviets utilize so effectively to give the impression of popular support to their movement. More immediately useful were such members of the native middle or upper classes as were willing to join forces with the Bolsheviks. For example, Faizulla Khodja, a wealthy merchant of Bokhara who had joined the Young Bokhara Party in 1917 in order to protect his property, became president of the Communist Party of Bokhara after the flight of the Emir, and later, when the Republic of Uzbekistan was formed, was elected first president of its Council of Commissars. Of the three Kazak agitators most active in establishing Soviet power among the Kazaks, one was a former translator for the Czarist Government suspected of having been an agent of the Czarist secret police; a second joined the Bolsheviks after having been expelled from the Kazak nationalist organization; and the third was a Kipchak tribesman, who gave tribal meaning to the revolutionary struggle by proclaiming his own tribe a partisan of the Soviets and labeling as counter-revolutionary its enemy the Arghines, in what became a traditional tribal war over pasturage rights. As a Russian communist once complained, a majority of the party members in Turkestan were former ultra-reactionaries who had joined the party for profit.\*

Although the Soviets were strongly anti-religious, they realized that Islam had too firm a hold on the Moslem people to be vanquished immediately by frontal attack. On the one hand they separated church from state and expropriated its vast holdings of property (though not the mosques themselves), thereby weakening the political and economic power of the religious establishments. On the other hand, since Islam had a deep social hold on the people which could only gradually be undermined by education, they sought to placate the Moslems wherever possible. A Special Commissariat for Moslem Affairs was set up in Moscow with a Moslem (Volga Tartar) commissar. The sacred Koran of Osman, which had earlier been transferred to the National Library at Petrograd, was returned with due publicity to its home in Samarkand. When early Bolshevik attempts to sovietize trade resulted in a serious food shortage in Turkestan, the granting of

\* Cited from *Ruf* ("The Helm"), April 26, 1921, in Castagné, "Le Turkestan depuis la Révolution Russe (1917-1921)," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, (1922), p. 70.



freedom of trade to all Moslems had the double effect of reviving the markets and of gaining Moslem good will.

## II

Up to 1920 the chief concern of the new Soviet Government in Moscow was to extend and consolidate its control over the peoples and territories of the former Czarist empire. When the former khanates of Khiva and Bokhara became the republics of Khwarezm and Bokhara, it was without thought of ethnic boundaries. But in 1920 Stalin's nationality policy was adopted by the Central Executive Committee in Moscow, and from that time on the sovietization of Turkestan and Central Asia, as well as of other areas under Soviet control, evolved in accordance with its principles. To implement this new policy, a Commissariat of Nationalities was established by decree on May 19, 1920, "to guarantee a fraternal collaboration of nationalities and tribes of the Russian Socialist Federative Republic."<sup>1</sup>

On September 5, 1920, a Kirghiz<sup>2</sup> Soviet Republic was established by decree of the Russian Central Executive Committee, and on October 1, 700 deputies met in Orenbourg to attend the first Constitutional Congress of the new republic. No details are available as to the method of recruiting these deputies, but accounts of the convention show a striking similarity to those reporting the constitutional congress of the Azerbaijan Peoples' Government in December 1945. With clock-like precision a central executive committee was elected, "Kirghiz" was declared to be the state language, speeches were made containing the familiar slogans, representatives appeared from newly formed neighboring soviet republics, and congratulatory telegrams were read.

In September 1921, the Transcaspian Province was renamed the Turkoman Territory, a hint of the national autonomy to come, although actually the Territory remained for some time under the administrative jurisdiction of Tashkent.

With the promulgation of the first constitution of the Soviet Union in 1923, the framework was prepared for the type of "na-

<sup>1</sup> French text of the decree of May 19, 1920, is quoted by Castagné in "Les Organisations soviétiques de la Russie musulmane," *Revue du Monde Musulman*, (1922), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, Kazak. See note 1.



tional autonomy" which continues, in only slightly modified form, today. By 1924 Turkestan and Central Asia were considered ready to be incorporated into the new ethnic-political structure. In November of that year the executive committees of the republics of Turkestan, Bokhara, and Khwarezm met at Tashkent and turned over their authority to the revolutionary committees for the Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Turkomans, Kara-Kalpaks, and Kara Kirghiz. These committees proceeded at once to the capitals which had been chosen, and in the course of 1925 the socialist soviet governments of Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Turkmenistan, Kara Kalpakistan, and Kirghizia were established as component members of the Soviet Union. In the same year the Kirghiz Republic (Kazakstan) moved its capital from Orenbourg, which was largely populated by Cossacks, to Ak Mechet, a purely Kazak community.<sup>9</sup> Under the flexible federal system of the soviets, these several ethnic regions were given a status according to their level of development. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan at once became full-fledged Socialist Soviet republics; Tadjikistan and Kazakstan became Autonomous SSR;<sup>10</sup> while Kirghizia and Kara-Kalpakistan were set up as Autonomous Regions.<sup>11</sup> All had representation in the Soviet of Nationalities, one of the two legislative bodies of the Soviet Union.

One of the most widely publicized aspects of the Soviet nationality policy has been the emphasis on cultural autonomy. Actually, this "autonomy" consisted chiefly in the use of the national language in the schools, government administration, and courts, and in the flood of books, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers which began to flow from the presses. As Stalin reasoned quite logically, the social, economic, and political level of backward peoples cannot be raised without very considerable changes in their national cultures. The emphasis on use of the national language and the encouragement of the folk arts gave self-respect to these peoples. Encouraged to feel pride in their own cultural traditions rather than to be ashamed of them, as is so

<sup>9</sup> It was later transferred to Alma Ata, the former Vierny, which had been an important administrative and economic center under the Czarist regime.

<sup>10</sup> A step below the preceding. They attained full status as republics in 1929 and 1936 respectively.

<sup>11</sup> The Kara-Kalpaks were promoted to the rank of ASSR under the wing of Uzbekistan in 1932, the Kirghiz to that of full republic in 1936.

often the result of Western-imposed education, they freely, even enthusiastically, accepted elements of the foreign culture which in other circumstances they would have resented.

Stalin's nationality policy stressed flexibility of administrative form and method, permitting adaptability to the special conditions of the various national groups, participation of the people in their own development, and a balanced political, economic, and social development which would maintain a cultural equilibrium throughout the changes taking place.

Although it cannot be doubted that the process of sovietization was directed from Moscow, the program itself was carried out as far as possible by the nationals of the various administrative regions. The Soviet governmental framework calls for broad popular participation at the local level — the village among sedentary peoples, the *aul* among nomads — and permits considerable local autonomy. In the regional governments the most important posts were from the very beginning filled by nationals, though they were guided by "party secretaries" who were often Russian. Even at the expense of efficiency, all posts were filled by nationals as rapidly as they could be trained.

As in the other countries of the Middle East today, there was a great lack of adequately trained personnel. In 1921 the University of Peoples of the East was founded in Moscow to train leaders from the republics of Turkestan and Central Asia so that they might be able to create industrial centers, advance agriculture and irrigation, develop co-operatives. Universities were established in Tashkent and in Alma Ata in the 1920's, normal and technical schools were set up in various centers, and a wide system of schools developed.

Of particular interest, however, were the more informal centers for adult education. Among the remote Kirghiz, whose only contact with the outside world had been through the trading caravans sent into their mountains at intervals by the merchants of Bokhara, the Soviets first sent caravans and later set up trading posts which not only dispensed needed merchandise but served as educational centers. In Tajikistan, village mosques and tea houses, the traditional meeting places of the men, were used as centers. In Kazakstan "Red tents" migrated with the *aul*. In

Bokhara the traditional artisans' and craftsmens' guilds were converted into labor unions. As co-operatives, collective farms, and factories were established, educational centers were set up in each of these economic communities. They not only provided instruction in reading and writing, and made available magazines and books so that the newly acquired literacy might be retained, but were equipped with facilities for instruction and aid in such matters as hygiene, health, animal husbandry, and farming methods. The work of the small permanent local centers was supplemented by ambulatory units, consisting of trucks fitted out as clinics, or displaying educational films and exhibits.

Such an extensive program required personnel and money. In the countries of the Middle East one frequently hears the complaint that after doctors, engineers, and other specialists have been trained at great expense they insist on remaining in the capital city or on being assigned immediately to a high administrative post. In the Soviet Union all such trainees were required to work at their profession in outlying regions for a certain number of years after graduation, a condition which might be imposed, without charge of undue regimentation, by other governments which finance the training of needed specialists.

Education was considered fundamental to development, whether social, economic, or political. In 1929, for example, Turkmenistan devoted thirty-six per cent of its total budget to education; Uzbekistan, forty-eight per cent.<sup>12</sup> Education was, however, only one part of the total program of development, which the national governments would have been unable to finance from their own resources. Stalin maintained, first, that there could be no true equality until the backward peoples had been brought up to the level of the more advanced; and second, that the advanced peoples would profit economically by the raised standards of their backward neighbors. Consequently the Soviet Union supplemented the local budgets of the Asiatic national regions at the expense of the Russians.

There is little doubt that under Soviet direction the social and economic level of the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia has risen to an amazing degree, and that this has been accomplished

<sup>12</sup> Ethan T. Colton, *The XYZ of Communism* (New York, 1931), p. 354.

through the wholehearted participation of a majority of the people. An illustration may be given of their sense of identification with the government: One summer salaries in Alma Ata and other parts of Central Asia remained unpaid when currency was temporarily diverted to the Ukraine for the grain harvest. When a young Kazak was asked why the people did not go on strike to obtain their pay, he exclaimed, "But we wouldn't strike! Don't you see that that would be striking against ourselves?"

In some ways, however, national autonomy was unnecessarily subordinated to the aims of the Russian leaders, in spite of Stalin's many warnings against the dangers of Great Russian chauvinism. It is almost inevitable for a technically advanced people, when assisting a more backward group toward self-development, to assume that forms familiar to its own culture are necessarily the best. The speed of conversion and the pressure under which it took place, as well as the totalitarian nature of the Soviet system, undoubtedly operated to counteract the Russians' genuine efforts not to impose their culture on the national minorities.

The extreme centralization of administrative machinery is itself a characteristic Russian trait which began to appear in the Moscow government as early as the sixteenth century; in many other Soviet forms and methods, the Russian cultural imprint may be clearly discerned. A particular case in point is the development of state monopolies. In the twenties one of the most successful means of obtaining popular participation in economic development was the co-operative movement. In 1927 there were 80,000 co-operatives in the Soviet Union, flexibly organized to satisfy the particular needs of the various national groups. Because of the Russian urge for centralized state control they were largely replaced in the early thirties by monopolistic organizations. An admission that this stifling of the co-operatives was an error is suggested in a decree passed in November 1946, ordering a "radical reorganization" of consumers' and producers' co-operatives, accompanied by a statement in *Pravda* that the "monopolist" position of the state stores was retarding "expansion of trade in agricultural products and consumers' goods."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, Nov. 12, 1946.



As a result of this unintentional Russianization, some of the more sophisticated members of the intelligentsia viewed the Soviet regime with a certain cynicism, although the mass of the people of Turkestan and Central Asia accepted it with considerable enthusiasm. Anti-Russian nationalist groups were reported to exist in Turkestan as late as 1937 and probably are still to be found there.

Soviet methods and policies in Turkestan and Central Asia have been analyzed in the belief that the countries of the Middle East, where similar cultures and problems are to be found, might profit by a study of Soviet successes and mistakes. The rapidity of development in Turkestan was possible only under a highly regimented regime. There seems no reason why it could not be achieved more slowly, but with more opportunity for the peoples themselves to direct the course of their development, under a non-communist democratic government. Kurdish nationalists in Iran and Iraq turn to the hope of an independent Kurdish state only when they despair of achieving equality within existing political boundaries, and the same may be said of the Qashqai and other minority groups. It is unlikely that they would accept aid from a foreign power against their own government, as did the Tudeh Party in Iran during the war, if they were permitted a chance to share in the development of their own country and in the benefits to be derived from it in the development, for example, of such co-operative organizations as Soviet Russia found so successful among the peoples of Turkestan and Central Asia.

The methods by which the Russians brought about a Soviet revolution in Turkestan and Central Asia parallel in many ways those that they adopted in similar attempts directed toward Azerbaijan and Kurdistan in the last few years. Their recent efforts did not survive the withdrawal of Soviet troops from northern Iran, but as long as poverty, communal inequality, and governmental oppression continue in the countries of the Middle East, there exists an open invitation to further agitation. An understanding of the methods and policies by which the Soviets themselves have dealt successfully with such problems will help both in easing similar situations in the Middle East and in forestalling their manipulation by foreign powers.



# AMERICAN AVIATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST<sup>1</sup>

*George A. Brownell*

EVER SINCE Daedalus and Icarus essayed their fabled non-stop flight from Crete to Sicily, the imaginations of men in the Middle East have conceived of the possibility of soaring through the air, if not on wings, then on magic airborne carpets. It is not surprising that they were among the first to conjure up such a solution of their transport problems. In few areas of the world can direct travel by air over deserts, mountains, seas, and wildernesses produce so great a saving of time and labor.

During the past few years the fantasy of the Arabian Nights has become reality. There are today few points of the Middle East where the airplane is not known, and where it is not eagerly availed of by those who can afford it. En route from Karachi in November 1946, aboard a comfortable British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) flying boat, we picked up in Trucial Oman a half dozen scimitar-bedecked sheikhs on their way to Bahrein for a holiday week end. They were as much at home as any group of American businessmen on the New York-Washington run.

<sup>1</sup> Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Ralph B. Curren of the staff of the United States Embassy in Cairo for a substantial part of the statistical and other data included in this article. Mr. Curren, one of the first and most experienced of United States Civil Air Attachés, accompanied the author on a Department of State air mission in the fall of 1946 to India, Iraq, and other points in the Middle East.

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At the appointed time they one by one unrolled their prayer rugs in the aisle and went through their evening ritual while the plane flew five thousand feet above the Persian Gulf. One of the many services rendered by the courteous BOAC steward was to point out to them the exact direction of Mecca.

The war, of course, has been responsible for much of this sudden development. International air lines transited the Middle East before 1939, and one or two local companies had started operations by then, but the schedules were thin. It was not until the construction and improvement of airfields by the military forces, the introduction of wartime navigational and other facilities, and the inevitable creation of post-war surpluses of flying equipment, that both international and local operations assumed their present importance. Today each one of the larger flying nations has established or plans routes through the Middle East, and within the past two years each individual Middle Eastern country which had not done so before has set up its own air line.

This sudden apparent growth, however, must not lead the outside observer to overlook the many difficulties that remain to be overcome. One of the most critical points which recently has come to a head arises out of the inability of several Middle East states to support and maintain the expensive and complicated airport and navigational facilities required for modern air transportation. In the immediate post-war period a considerable amount of this work was performed by the American and British air forces, but with the inevitable withdrawal of their personnel such assistance has been greatly reduced, and presumably will be eliminated eventually. There is a critical need now for some form of assistance to certain of the local governments either by the air lines or by other governments vitally concerned, or both. The current financial position of the carriers and the lower standards for operations permitted by other governments have a bearing on the problem. Probably ultimately a solution will be devised by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which under its Convention has authority to provide funds and other types of assistance for these purposes. But despite the advances in international air co-operation for which ICAO has already been responsible in its brief two years of existence, doubtless it will be

a number of years before it can give the assistance that is now needed in many parts of the world.

The absence of established practice confronts air line operators with another type of problem in such parts of the world as the Middle East. Centuries of experience among civilized nations have developed for the benefit of salt water shipping the principles of navigation which together constitute the concept of the "freedom of the seas." Generally speaking, ships may ply the ocean lanes from one country to another free of restrictions other than those imposed for their own safety. In all important ports they will find docking and other facilities which they are invited to use for a reasonable fee, and on their way they will be served by lighthouses, buoys, channels, and other navigational aids provided at public expense.

The position of the international air line is very different. The nations of the world are far from accepting a doctrine that will allow all air carriers freedom of transport and commerce comparable to that which no one of them would question for salt water traffic. At the international aviation conference in Chicago in the fall of 1944, the United States sought general approval of a multilateral treaty that would have gone a long way in this direction, but the effort failed completely.

An American air line seeking, for example, to commence operations through the Middle East countries must first apply for and secure from the Civil Aeronautics Board a "Certificate of Public Convenience and Necessity" permitting it to operate a carefully described route from which it may not vary without permission. Such a certificate, however, evidences only the necessary approval by the United States Government. It is of no value unless and until the United States makes arrangements for the operation with each of the other governments having jurisdiction over the proposed ports of call. And even when such a series of bilateral agreements is completed there is no assurance to the American carrier that the airports and other facilities along the route will meet the standards required by our aviation authorities.

Two American air lines have been "certificated" to the Middle East. Pan American Airways is now authorized to operate across Europe to Istanbul, Ankara, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad,

Karachi, New Delhi, Calcutta, and beyond to its own trans-Pacific routes. Trans World Airline (TWA) is similarly authorized to operate from Cairo (which it reaches both from Athens and via its route along the north coast of Africa) to Lydda (Jerusalem), Basra, Dhahran, Bombay, Calcutta, and beyond to Shanghai. There it will connect with Northwest Airlines' trans-Pacific route through the Aleutians and Alaska.

It is not yet feasible, for economic and other reasons, for either American company to fly the above routes exactly as described, or to make all the authorized stops. TWA is currently scheduling fifteen round trip passenger flights a week from the United States to Cairo, three of which continue on to Lydda, Dhahran, and Bombay, and a fourth to Lydda alone. It is expected that the Bombay service will soon be extended to Calcutta. Pan American is running two planes weekly from London to Istanbul, Karachi, and Calcutta with connections beyond. It is also serving Damascus once a week. Neither line has been operating long enough in the Middle East and India to permit accurate estimates of traffic potentials over a long period of time. However, it is interesting to note that TWA has reported that total passenger sales effected within the Middle East and India area for the period from January to June 1947 amounted to approximately twenty per cent of its international division passenger revenues for those six months.

## II

In order to give a somewhat fuller picture of the status of aviation throughout the Middle East, with particular reference to the part played by the United States, it may be helpful to look very briefly at the situation as it appears at present in each of the countries involved.

*Egypt.* Cairo is, and promises to continue to be, not only the hub of commercial aviation in the Middle East but also one of the most important air centers on the world trade routes. Payne Field (renamed Farouk Airport by the Egyptians), which was constructed and equipped by the United States Army during the war, was turned over to the Egyptian Government in December 1946 as part of an over-all settlement with Egypt and on the understanding that it would be maintained and used as an inter-



national civil airport. It should be capable of handling any commercial transport planes which will be used in international services in the foreseeable future; if necessary, its runways can be lengthened without difficulty.

The United States Army has been conducting a program for the purpose of training Egyptian personnel in the operation and maintenance of communications, navigational aids, and other equipment originally installed by it at Payne Field. The United States Weather Bureau has loaned two experienced weather forecasters and one rawinsonde technician to the Egyptian Department of Meteorology to assist in operations and to train Egyptian personnel. It remains to be seen what kind of a job the Egyptian Government will do over a period of years when the specialists furnished by the United States Government have been withdrawn, and when maintenance and replacement costs begin to mount up. The service should continue to be adequate if Egypt recognizes the importance of making the necessary appropriations and if trainees with appropriate background can be interested in the work. But these "ifs" carry big question marks.

Cairo is the largest and most important base for TWA on its route from New York to the Far East. In addition to maintaining and servicing aircraft used in its own trunk line operation, the company there maintains and services, on a contractual basis, aircraft of the Iranian Airways, Ethiopian Air Lines, and Saudi Arabian Airways. It tends the personal aircraft of King Farouk of Egypt and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia; it also services the aircraft of several American non-scheduled air carriers and some foreign air carriers which have occasion to pass through Cairo. With a staff of some 130 American employees and 840 Egyptians, the installation is today the largest American project in Egypt.

A bilateral air transport agreement between the United States and Egypt was signed in June 1946 after many months of negotiations. It has recently been ratified by the Egyptian Government, and is the first such agreement which that government has concluded. It follows the principles of the so-called Bermuda Agreement completed between the United States and Great Britain in February 1946 and, subject to the Bermuda formula, permits unrestricted Fifth Freedom privileges to any air carrier certificated



by the United States. That is, in addition to through traffic between the United States and Egypt, it authorizes the air line to carry traffic to Egypt from third countries and away from Egypt to third countries, subject to the "general principles" that such traffic shall be related "a) to traffic requirements between the country of origin and the country of destination, b) to the requirements of through line operation, and c) to the traffic requirements of the area through which the airline passes after taking account of local and regional services."<sup>2</sup>

The ratification of this agreement by Egypt is of particular importance and interest because of the leading part which that country has played in the Arab League Council in the formulation of a proposed standard type of bilateral agreement for use by all of the Arab countries. The Arab League draft placed severe restrictions on operations by foreign air lines within the Arab area, and in effect reserved as a monopoly for the Arab lines all local air traffic between the Arab states. This principle would have been impossible of acceptance by the United States as a matter of policy, for if it were applied generally it would tend to limit the long-range international carriers to traffic between their respective homelands and their various points of destination. No international air line can survive without enormous subsidies unless it can handle, to an appropriate degree, traffic between intermediate points on its routes. The fact that Egypt concluded an agreement with the United States in the latter's standard form, and the fact that Lebanon and Syria have also signed similar agreements, would seem to indicate that a change in the Arab League's air policy relative to restricting traffic routes within the Arab area can be anticipated in the near future. On any long term basis it would seem clear that the prosperity of the trunk lines transiting the Middle East cannot fail to increase rather than diminish the traffic handled by the local networks; it is believed that experience to date has proved this to be the case. It will probably always be true that the local air lines can afford to offer rates lower than those of the big international operators.

<sup>2</sup> The term "Fifth Freedom" refers to the classification of the "freedoms of the air" formulated in the International Air Transport Agreement which constitutes Appendix IV of the Final Act of the International Civil Aviation Conference held at Chicago, Nov. 1-Dec. 7, 1944.

Misr Airlines, an Egyptian company, has been in operation out of Cairo since 1931 and has steadily extended its services. In addition to its Egyptian net it now reaches Lydda, Haifa, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, and Cyprus. Until recently it utilized only British equipment, but a short time ago it significantly acquired five American twin-engined aircraft for its domestic and international services.

*Iraq.* Negotiations looking toward a bilateral agreement have been in progress between Iraq and the United States for well over a year. A special mission for that purpose was sent to Baghdad by the State Department in September 1946, but difficulties were encountered because of the desire of the Iraqi Government to adhere to the proposed restrictive policies of the Arab League referred to above. When it seemed as though this problem might be solved, public statements on the Palestine question by officials of the American Government and other public men in the United States so angered certain high Iraqi officials that our representatives were advised that no agreement of any kind would be possible. It is difficult to exaggerate the feeling that exists on this subject throughout the Moslem nations.<sup>3</sup>

In the early part of 1947, when it was announced that Pan American Airways was ready to extend its service from Ankara<sup>4</sup> to Karachi and that it would overfly Iraq because of the lack of a bilateral agreement with that country, the Iraqi Government, anxious that the country be served by the two American trunk lines, had a change of heart and despite the Arab League policy, granted Pan American and TWA unrestricted traffic rights, but only for one year pending further discussion of a permanent compact. Pan American has indicated that it will commence scheduled stops at Baghdad when the terms of a final arrange-

<sup>3</sup> In the case of India, however, the effect on the negotiations for a bilateral agreement was different. Liaquat Ali Khan, the leading Moslem member of the Interim Indian Government, and now Prime Minister of Pakistan, was as heated in his expressions regarding what he called the United States policy toward Palestine as anyone whom the author encountered. Yet he finally voted for the agreement, giving as one of his reasons the fact that he had never yet seen an American stay any length of time in the Middle East who did not return to the States understanding the Arab cause and convinced of its justice. He said that therefore the more planes that flew Americans to that part of the world the better pleased he would be.

<sup>4</sup> An Air Transport Agreement between the United States and Turkey was signed on February 12, 1946. It follows the general pattern of agreements with other Middle Eastern countries, granting the carriage of Fifth Freedom traffic, with stops at Istanbul and Ankara.

ment are known; for understandable reasons it is not prepared to institute a regular service on the basis of a temporary permit. It is also not certain when TWA will begin letting down at Basra. One of the factors is the ever present question of the maintenance and operation of airport and navigational facilities; relative traffic potentials are of course another.

Iraqi Airways, owned by the Iraqi Government but guided by British technicians, started operation in 1946 with DeHaviland Rapides. It soon appeared that this small plane was not suitable for the long-distance flights extending out from Baghdad, and the company acquired two American C-47's. Iraqi Airways now operates within Iraq and from Baghdad to Tehran, Cairo, Damascus, and Beirut.

*Syria.* The same difficulties that were encountered in Iraq delayed the consummation of a bilateral air transport agreement between the United States and Syria. However, as was the case in Iraq, when Pan American announced that it would overfly Damascus on its route from Ankara to Karachi, the Syrian Government rejected the Arab League policy and in April 1947 signed an agreement granting Fifth Freedom privileges on the Bermuda pattern. Pan American now operates a weekly flight to Damascus.

The Syrian Airways was established early in 1947, using technical assistance, crews, and ground personnel supplied by Pan American. At the present time it is operating two C-47's purchased from United States Army surplus. From the same source it has acquired considerable communications and other airport equipment, and it intends to purchase more American aircraft in the near future. The line operates within Syria and from Damascus to Cairo, with planned extensions to Beirut, Ankara, and Baghdad.

*Lebanon.* In April 1946 Lebanon signed a bilateral air transport agreement with the United States which followed the standard Bermuda formula. Facilities at Beirut, however, are not yet up to all American requirements. The Lebanese Government intends, with considerable American technical assistance and equipment, to build there a new international airport that will be adequate to serve all demands.

Middle East Airlines was established in January 1946 by a group of Lebanese businessmen. It has utilized both American and British operating and technical personnel and equipment, and now operates from Beirut to Cairo, Baghdad, Cyprus, Ankara, Damascus, and Paris.

*Saudi Arabia.* As recently as 1942, when James Smith, now Vice-President of Pan American in charge of its operations to Europe, the Middle East, and India, landed his C-47 at Ibn Saud's capital city of Riyadh, the first question asked him by the assembled Arabs was "Is it a male or a female?" Since that time the King has acquired one of the great aluminum birds by gift from President Roosevelt and five more by purchase from United States Army surplus property stocks. Efforts of the Saudi Arabians to operate the fleet themselves, however, were not successful. Late in 1946 a contract was therefore concluded with TWA whereby that company took over all operations and maintenance on a cost plus fee basis. Saudi Arabian Airways now operates a scheduled service, as prescribed by the King, over the route Dhahran-Riyad-Jidda-Cairo, and it is reported that he intends to extend it to other neighboring states.

An operation of equal and perhaps greater size is that of the American-owned Arabian American Oil Company, which holds the great Saudi Arabian oil concession and which is setting up a large aircraft division at Dhahran for the purpose of transporting company personnel and supplies. It has recently purchased five C-47's, and is said to be acquiring more of this and other types. It also operates a DC-4 on regular bimonthly flights from San Francisco to Dhahran and return.

The United States has been given unrestricted air traffic rights by Ibn Saud on a temporary basis. A draft of a proposed bilateral agreement is now being considered by his government and it is not unlikely that it will be agreed on in the near future.

The Dhahran airport, built by the United States Army during the war, is scheduled to be turned over to Saudi Arabia early in 1949. Whether or not the Saudi Arabians will be able to operate it themselves by that time is doubtful. United States Army personnel on duty at the airport during the past two years have carried on certain training activities, but qualified candidates are



not numerous. Even with the extension of training now contemplated it will be a long time before this airport can function properly without foreign technical assistance. One of the difficulties is that by the time any native is trained and educated to the work, his newly acquired language and other capabilities make him eligible for even more important and better paid positions elsewhere in the country.

TWA serves Dhahran on its scheduled service from Cairo to Bombay. The field is also used as a fueling stop by several American non-scheduled air carriers making special or charter flights from the United States to India and the Far East, and as a base of operations for the air activities of the Arabian American Oil Company.

*Iran.* The Shah of Iran has shown considerable interest in flying. He pilots his own twin-engined Beechcraft, and has recently acquired for his personal use a converted United States Army Flying Fortress. Air relations with the United States to date have been quite satisfactory. Iran has granted temporary operating rights, and it is expected that a bilateral agreement following the standard form will be concluded in the near future.

Pan American's certificate authorizes a stop at Tehran, but this will not be practicable until improvements now under way at Mehrabad Airport outside that city are completed. Much United States Army communications and navigational equipment was purchased by the Iranians for use at Abadan and Mehrabad Airports; again the question of the proper training of personnel for its maintenance and operation is the crucial one.

The Iranian Airways was established in December 1945 by a group of Iranian businessmen, with TWA taking a ten per cent interest. TWA supplies the American flight crews, mechanics, and other personnel. The line operates C-47's within Iran and from Tehran to Baghdad, Beirut, Lydda, Cairo, and Paris.

*Ethiopia.* Neither of the two American air lines certificated to the Middle East touches Ethiopia and therefore no bilateral agreement with the United States has yet been necessary. In late 1945, however, the Ethiopian Government made a contract with TWA for the setting up and operation of Ethiopian Airways,



owned by the Ethiopian Government. Besides services within Ethiopia it connects Addis Ababa with Cairo, Djibuti, Aden, Nairobi, and Khartoum. The extreme inadequacy of other transportation facilities has made this line a leading example of what aviation can mean to a primitive country.

*India and Pakistan.* The great peninsula of India is by far the most important part of the Middle East from the point of view of aviation. It furnishes what is doubtless the best channel, and now the only channel, for traffic passing from Europe and Africa to the Far East and back. It will itself be a terminal of constantly increasing importance. Though its per capita wealth and commerce output can hardly yet even be compared with those of the industrialized nations of the West, 400,000,000 people weigh heavily in the scales when one is measuring the traffic potentials of the future.

Imperial Airways began a service to India as far back as 1929. The Dutch and the French followed with regular flights connecting their homelands with their Far Eastern colonies, necessarily transiting India in the process. In the course of the thirties several internal air services were started, the most important being Tata Air Lines and Indian National Airways. Though radio, meteorological, and navigational facilities were marginal or less, these local air lines had a safety record of which our own domestic companies would be proud indeed. In 1946 over 4,500,000 aircraft miles were flown without a single fatality and with only one accident involving damage to an aircraft.

In India as elsewhere the war greatly stimulated the construction of airports and other related installations, though many of them are not located where they will be of great value commercially. The historic performance of the United States Air Transport Command over "the Hump" blazed an air trail from India to China over which (at somewhat more operational altitudes) commercial operations have now been started.

Six domestic companies now operate sixteen air services within India, flying a daily average of over 23,000 miles. Load factors and regularity of service are good. It is interesting to note that despite British and other precedents, and the fact that India has the largest State Railway service in the world, India has to date

followed a policy in air transportation of controlled private enterprise without direct or indirect subsidies.<sup>8</sup>

Prior to the fall of 1946 India had made no post-war bilateral air transport agreements with foreign nations. BOAC continued to operate some thirteen services a week under the old Empire agreements, shortly to be revised. China National Airways carried on their line from Chungking to Calcutta under their war-time permits, and KLM (the Dutch air line) and Air France are operating services for their governments that pass through India without commercial rights.

In September 1946 a Department of State Mission was sent to New Delhi to continue negotiations in progress since the close of the war for a United States - Indian agreement. It was concluded in November with Pandit Nehru and Abdur Rab Nishtar, Minister of Communications, after long conversations justified by the fact that the document in many ways set the pattern for India's future international air policy. The agreement conforms with the principles involved in the Bermuda Agreement, but secures to each party a greater measure of control over the application of those principles and the air services to be operated. The staff of the Indian Civil Aviation Department contended to the end of the conferences for a provision that would in effect eliminate the United States from Fifth Freedom traffic between India and Ceylon and Burma, believing that such traffic should be reserved for their domestic carriers. The Cabinet, however, agreed to the Fifth Freedom policy advocated by the United States.

Final action on the agreement included unanimous approval by both the Hindu and Moslem members of the government, a fact which probably will be of importance in the light of the recent constitutional changes in India. The United States Government has been advised by the representatives of the new Dominion of Pakistan that it will continue to adhere to the November 1946 agreement until a new agreement can be negotiated.

Pursuant to the authority of the agreement, TWA started flights to India in January 1947 and Pan American two months

<sup>8</sup> For a review of aviation in India (from which the above statistics are taken), see "Aviation in India," by Sir Frederick Tymms, in the Summer 1947 issue of *Air Affairs*. Sir Frederick, for some fifteen years Director of Civil Aviation in India, has recently left that post to become Great Britain's representative on the permanent ICAO staff in Montreal.

later. One can now travel from New York to India over the Pan American route in forty hours elapsed time — less than the pre-war schedule of Imperial Airways from London to Egypt.

### III

The foregoing brief summary may serve to give the reader an outline of the situation as it exists today. What of the future?

One of the more intriguing and speculative of current guessing games is to attempt to forecast the development of air commerce in any given part of the world during the next decade. There are few who have doubts as to the status of aviation a century hence; it is the immediate future that gives concern to the air line director who must back his judgment with dollars, or to the public official and legislator who are struggling with the formulation of policies for the next ten years.

Assuming no new world upheaval, it should be safe to predict that this period will see a very substantial growth of air operations, both passenger and freight, throughout the Middle Eastern area, and particularly that the relative development will be greater there than in other more "advanced" portions of the globe. This will be due primarily to the larger part that the Middle East is destined to play in the world's commercial and political life; it will also follow from the fact that in few places does air travel produce such enormous time savings. These factors have already generated new classes and categories of traffic; they will breed more in their turn. TWA alone, in the first six months of its operations to India, when the service was struggling to get started, carried fifty per cent more through passengers from the United States than made the trip by all boats sailing from both our coasts during an average six months in 1938. By ship today from Bombay to New York is at best a matter of a month, and the sailings are both infrequent and subject to sizable delays. By air the TWA scheduled elapsed time is two and one-half days. The present air fare is \$845.

The possibilities of air cargo to Middle East destinations are just beginning to be realized. During the war the United States Air Transport Command demonstrated what could be done when cost was not a factor. TWA's experimental beginnings with an

all-cargo plane once a week, with guarantees that shipments will not be off-loaded to make way for passengers, are demonstrating that on a straight commercial basis this type of transport may become a most important part of trunk line operations. Present shipments, according to a recent survey, show as might be expected that a majority of the air cargoes from the United States are destined for the Middle East and further points where the time savings are greatest.<sup>6</sup>

Experience to date has indicated that the local air transportation companies in the individual Middle Eastern countries not only have nothing to fear, but have much to gain from the healthy development of both passenger and cargo traffic by the international trunk lines. It is obvious how important it is to them to have the technical and other assistance that foreign operators can make available. In all cases, they benefit from the air traffic fed to them by the through lines. Proper division of Fifth Freedom traffic within the Arab League area has as yet presented no problems, nor is it likely to do so. This does not mean, however, that such problems will not arise on other stretches of the through routes. The importance of intermediate traffic to successful through line operation is becoming more obvious as time goes on, and there is not much question but that sooner or later ICAO will have an interesting time in administering the necessarily flexible but hitherto untested Bermuda formula.

The future picture presents certain complications that must not be disregarded. One already has been mentioned: the lack of trained personnel to man the complicated and technical ground facilities that are almost as necessary for safe commercial flying as the altimeter and the air speed indicator in the cockpit. In most countries of the Middle East, men with the necessary background and sense of responsibility who are willing to go into this type of work are not numerous. The governments appear to be unwilling

<sup>6</sup> Outward shipments appear at the present to include office equipment and supplies, especially fountain pens (20%); clothing (16%); samples (15%); pharmaceuticals (10%); diplomatic pouches (7%); gold (6%); and a balance made up of such items as machinery, skins and furs, auto replacement parts, newsprint and films, electrical equipment, photographic prints and equipment, watches, radios, optical supplies, etc. On the return trip one is not surprised to find such items as leopard skins from Ethiopia; birds, reptiles, and various other animals for American zoos; honey, wine, and silk from Greece; caviar from the Caspian Sea; civet from central Africa; and oriental rugs from India and Afghanistan.



to pay salaries which are sufficient to make the positions attractive and to inspire young candidates with the required education. The raw material that is available must undergo a long period of schooling and there is a dearth of instructors. As a result many essential services have to be manned by foreign air line personnel. The same type of difficulty arises with respect to the actual physical equipment, and even the construction and maintenance of the airports themselves. Local governments, which inherited army fields built during the war and which purchased at low surplus property rates the instruments and other machinery that once made them function, do not understand the importance of keeping them operating at high standards and fail to make the appropriations necessary for new construction, replacements, and spare parts. They want all the benefits without the burdens. Theoretically some of these burdens might well be assumed by the international organization. Eventually they probably will be, but it will take time.

The current world exchange crisis has of course had direct repercussions on American operations to any overseas area, and by no means the least in the Middle East. If payments for tickets sold abroad must be made in dollars, the exchange control boards are obliged to limit travel to what they regard as necessary. Similar limitations restrict the importation of luxury goods that are frequently particularly adapted to air transport. If payments to our air lines abroad are accepted in local currencies, the funds cannot easily be made available in this country. They can, of course, be utilized to a certain extent in paying operating expenses abroad. Another use for them might be the construction of terminal and overnight facilities for passengers which at many points have not been set up by local initiative, and if set up are frequently deficient. But this, again, would place a financial burden on the international carriers that at the moment it is difficult for them to assume.

No discussion, however brief, of air transportation operations to the far parts of the world should conclude without appropriate mention of their importance in the present over-all international situation. It is a truism to say that world peace and the survival of any world organization calculated to preserve it depend on the

mutual understanding by the peoples of the world of each other's problems; it is equally axiomatic that such understanding can come only as a result of personal contact and free interchanges among those peoples. Air transport will do more in a year to produce those contacts and interchanges, particularly within the area which we have been considering, than the steamship and railroad could do in ten. Air travel will stimulate personal relations between businessmen that are the soundest foundations of commerce; the United States has only begun to develop such relations in the Middle East. It will promote the exchange of students and teachers. It will make possible more frequently those face-to-face conversations between government officials that are essential in any international organization such as United Nations, and vitally important in any intergovernmental relationship. One would be interested in knowing, for example, the extent to which the recent settlement of the acute Indian problem was due to the fact that the airplane brought together the principals in Great Britain and India at the various crucial stages of the negotiations.

But there is another side to the picture. Although close contacts and interchanges are necessary to the international understanding which we all know is so important in the years which lie immediately ahead, they do not of themselves ensure it, and they sometimes produce conflicts and misunderstandings more readily than accords. Aviation in the Middle East will profit all the nations engaged in it only so long as foreign and domestic operators alike remember that each can benefit from the other, and that close co-operation and fair dealing are the only keys to their mutual success. Exploitation in any degree will defeat this goal no less than local efforts to hamper the trunk line operators by uneconomic or inequitable restrictions. If the men responsible for the air transportation policies in all the countries and companies involved bear this in mind, they will have their own reward. All things considered, they have made an encouraging beginning.

# THE PROBLEM OF THE ITALIAN COLONIES

C. Grove Haines

THE ultimate disposition of the Italian colonies, already the cause of much controversy among the Great Powers, promises to remain an issue of major consequence in the diplomatic struggle which currently obtains in the Middle East theater. The treaty of February 10, 1947, requires that Italy renounce "all right and title" to its former African possessions (Libya, Eritrea, Somaliland) and leaves future arrangements respecting them to the joint decision of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and France, which are obliged within a year of the treaty's coming into force to make a settlement or, failing in that, to submit the question to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation which they agree to accept and implement. Meanwhile, according to the treaty, the deputies of the Foreign Ministers are authorized to continue study of the question, using such commissions of investigation for the purpose as may be required.<sup>1</sup> These arrangements, the product of fourteen months of deliberation and negotiation, in effect remained inoperative until September 15, 1947, when ratifications of the Italian treaty were at length exchanged.

The issues involved in the future of these colonies reach far beyond the affirmed desire of each of the Great Powers to ensure the welfare of native peoples and to shape a solution which will be

<sup>1</sup> The pertinent portions of the Italian treaty may be found in the *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 331-333.

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in the best interests of the international community. If there were only these matters to consider, it can be assumed that a practical compromise would have been reached despite the most divergent views sustained with conviction and sincerity by each of the principal parties. But the inescapable fact is that the fate of the Italian colonies will be determined, in the final analysis, by the character of the power relationships issuing from the current diplomatic duel in the eastern Mediterranean. It is perhaps not unduly cynical to suggest that the accidents of this duel, conducted on a broad field, with control of a strategically vital area, rich in oil and dominating some of the most important intercontinental routes of communication, will decide the degree to which the spirit of humanitarianism and internationalism will infuse the final settlement. In similar fashion, it may be supposed that both the machinery and the timetable set in the February 10 document will be adjusted to conform with the shaping of events in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Iran, and the Arab world at large.

#### *IMPORTANCE OF THE ITALIAN COLONIES*

The importance of the Italian colonies lies not in their material riches or in the advantages which they afford for European colonization, in both of which their value is negligible by present standards, but in the fact that now, more than ever before, they represent strategic outposts for the control of northeast Africa and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. The reasons for their significance in this respect are to be sought both in the requirements of contemporary air warfare and in the political adjustments to new power factors arising from World War II. During the critical war years of 1941 and 1942, the Axis demonstrated that possession of the Tripoli-Bengazi-Sicily triangle, accompanied by control of the Aegean Islands, could effectually nullify seapower in the eastern Mediterranean, a lesson which has not been lost on Moscow, London, and Washington. Besides, it was made apparent to the Allies that Massawa, Ghinda, Gura, and Asmara in Eritrea could be used profitably for the defense of the Nile and the land bridge between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. It was here, it will be remembered, that U. S. Army Ordnance fitted out and maintained, until the tides of war re-



ceded from the region, some of its most substantial operational bases; and it was from these bases that General Montgomery drew the matériel which enabled his Eighth Army to drive back the German-Italian forces from the gates of Alexandria.<sup>2</sup> The long-range land-based bomber placed a premium upon lands otherwise desolate and impoverished and made of north and east Africa an area whose disposition no responsible statesman could take lightly into account.

Revolutionary as the consequences of recent military science have been and will continue to be, they have meaning only in terms of advancing or defending the concrete interests of those states which possess the necessary potentials. It is in this broad political sphere that the most sweeping changes of the recent war were wrought in the Middle East theater. Here the factors of surpassing importance have been the total eclipse of French influence in the eastern Mediterranean and its weakening elsewhere, together with the rapid subsidence of British power, once paramount in the area. Fresh impetus has thereby been given to Zionism, Pan-Arabism, and local Arab nationalist movements, all of which must be taken into account to a degree not customary in the past when the destinies of the Italian colonies and other territories are finally shaped. At the same time, the recession of the British and French empires has breathed new life into ancient Russian expansionism, emboldened by recent victories and strengthened by the crusading gospel of the Soviets; and, in turn, the foreboding prospects of Soviet domination of the Middle East have latterly brought in the New World to help redress the balance of the Old. This situation is both novel and explosive, with the United States, formerly given to righteous aloofness from the struggles of empire in the Mediterranean and African theaters, ranging itself with Britain against the Soviet Union for what are, in reality, the paramount stakes of national security.

Regrettably or not, such is the framework within which a practicable settlement for the Italian colonies will have to be reached, for they are today vital elements in the balancing of power. There was a time, shortly after the cessation of hostilities,

<sup>2</sup> K. C. Gandar Dower, *The First to be Freed* (London, Ministry of Information, 1944), pp. 45-47; Stephen H. Longrigg, *A Short History of Eritrea* (Oxford, 1945), pp. 150-151.

when the hope was nourished that these dependencies might be brought under the international administration of the United Nations through forms which would greatly minimize, if not completely eliminate, rival national ambitions. The trials of that organization during the last two years have largely dispelled this dream and have troubled and prolonged the negotiations in respect to the Italian colonies, as they have in other matters even more important.

### *THE CONFERENCE OF SURPRISES*

When the foreign ministers of the four great victors first met at London in September 1945 to lay the groundwork for a peace settlement, faith in their capacity easily to reconcile differences and to move along a common path toward a world of good will had not yet perceptibly dimmed, despite recurring embarrassments over the conduct of affairs where the Soviets held sway. The deliberations, punctuated by heated argument over procedural matters, however, revealed a wide divergence of views regarding the Italian treaty, the colonies included, and indicated that agreement was likely to be reached only by the hardest bargaining of the traditional sort.<sup>3</sup>

So far as Italian Africa was concerned, the positions of France, Britain, and Italy (Italian representatives were allowed to present their views) were known in a general way in advance of the conference; those of the United States and the Soviet Union remained to be clarified during the discussions. The French view coincided in principle with the Italian and, because it had the merit of logically advancing French interests, has since been adhered to with consistency. Inasmuch as France had claims to make of Italy on the continental frontier and was prepared to request the cession to Algeria of the Fezzan, which General Jacques Le Clerc had conquered, it seemed wise policy to soften the blow by recommending the return of the pre-Fascist colonies to Italy, either directly or in the form of a trusteeship. Besides, the French colonial empire was itself in jeopardy and would be further endangered if the principle of collective trusteeship, or

<sup>3</sup> D. Vernon McKay's "The Future of Italy's Colonies," *Foreign Policy Association Reports*, January 1, 1946, provides a useful summary of the general situation at this period.

even individual trusteeship with a precise commitment in favor of early independence, were implemented.

The British attitude was far less definite, except for what concerned specific wartime commitments to the Sanusi of Cyrenaica and certain general promises to Ethiopia. It should be added, moreover, that circumstantial evidence lent weight to the suspicion that Britain was perhaps preparing to play the villain's role. Since the capitulation of Italy in the autumn of 1943, London had stood accused in various quarters of employing a heavy hand in the Mediterranean lands in order to satisfy imperial interests. The roster of activities included a veto on Italian cabinet selections, armed intervention in Greece, not very subtle encouragement of the French to pack out of Syria and the Lebanon, the granting of independence to Transjordan under terms of close treaty arrangements, efforts to preserve the situation in Palestine *in statu quo*, and the parrying of Egyptian demands for immediate withdrawal of British troops and an abandonment in favor of Egypt of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium over the Sudan. Also, albeit by the accidents of war, the British military had conquered Italian Somaliland, Eritrea, and Libya, all of which they continued to administer as the occupying authority; and, as the liberators of Ethiopia, they had returned to Haile Selassie only partial sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> In light of these circumstances, what was known of British plans for the Italian colonies made them a bit suspect. They favored the cession of Eritrean Assab to Ethiopia, Massawa and the Keren district to the Sudan, both beneficiaries being in one way or another British dependencies; they espoused the creation of a united Somaliland, including Ethiopian Ogaden, to be placed under British administration; they supported a rectification of the Cyrenaican-Egyptian border in Egypt's favor, but insisted that Cyrenaica be turned over in some fashion to the Sanusi, whose relations with the British had been most intimate.

By way of contrast to the British and the French, who appeared at least to know their general purposes, the Department of State in Washington was torn between divided counsels. In

<sup>4</sup> War Office, "British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa during the Years 1941-43." Cmd. 6589.

the Office of European Affairs, where there was considerable apprehension of Russia's role in the Mediterranean, it was urged that the colonies be returned to Italy in the form of trusteeships; but in the Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs the inclination was to give free rein to the United Nations organization and to implement the principles of international administration.<sup>4</sup> Until the eve of the London Conference, the first of these views prevailed, so that it seemed likely that the United States would range itself on the side of France. At London, however, the internationalists, having gained a strong champion in John Foster Dulles, brought Secretary of State Byrnes around to their view, with the result that the Secretary, in what proved to be one of the great surprises of the conference, submitted a proposal for international trusteeship. Ignoring all claims to territorial changes, except for Eritrean cessions in favor of Ethiopia, the plan called for the establishment of regimes in Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland headed by an administrator who was to be chosen by the Trusteeship Council and was to be assisted by an advisory commission of seven. Libya and Eritrea were to receive their independence in ten years; Somaliland was to receive its independence eventually, but the date was not fixed. Apart from the commendable zeal for the cause of internationalism which this reflected, the American proposal had little to recommend it to the other powers and it was received without enthusiasm.

Secretary Byrnes' surprise gesture was more than matched by Foreign Minister Molotov, who called the conference sharply back from flights of fancy by criticizing international trusteeship on the grounds of impracticality, and then advanced a Soviet claim to trusteeship over Tripolitania as well as an interest in the Red Sea coast of Eritrea. Not only did this action relieve the British and the French of the thankless task of leading the opposition to the United States, but it likewise seemed to lend confirmation to the growing suspicions that the Soviet Union had grand designs upon the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. It will be recalled that at this time the Soviet Union was championing Yugoslavia's cause in Trieste, was lending moral

<sup>4</sup> James B. Reston, *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1945; McKay, p. 273-4.



support to the Greek guerillas, was renewing demands upon Turkey for joint defense of the Dardanelles, seemed to be angling for a position in the Dodecanese, and was exploiting its opportunities in Iran by giving aid and comfort to the Tudeh Party. The claim to Tripolitania seemed to be something more than a diplomatic gesture made for sheer bargaining purposes, and it met with general disapproval.

### *THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE*

When the London Conference disbanded, the prospects for an "international" settlement of the colonies had faded considerably, although Secretary Byrnes managed to secure an agreement that the American proposal would be fully and fairly heard by the Deputies who were to carry on with negotiations until the Foreign Ministers met again. The Deputies labored fruitlessly since the Russians would not budge from their demand for Tripolitania, which the others would not concede, with the result that the Foreign Ministers who assembled in Paris during April 1946 preliminary to the Peace Conference found themselves faced with a deadlocked issue.

Much that had come to pass in the interval between October and April heightened the complexity of the problem. To begin with, relations between the Soviet Union and the Western powers had steadily deteriorated. Differences over Germany were approaching a periodic climax over the reparations tangle, the vexed problem of German assets in Austria was producing mutual recrimination, the Balkan satellites were being drawn ever more tightly into the orbit of Moscow despite the protests of Britain and the United States, and, above all, the Soviet failure to withdraw from Iran at the appointed time was arousing widespread apprehensions. Partly for these reasons, but also because of Washington's unreadiness to universalize the principle of international trusteeship so as to make it applicable to Pacific islands as well, the State Department displayed little enthusiasm for its September proposal and appeared to draw closer to the British and the French in search of a more practicable compromise. The Russians, in their turn, having been worsted in Iran and stalemated in the Dardanelles, became less insistent in their

demand for Tripolitania, provided they could carry off Trieste for Yugoslavia. They therefore tended to draw closer to France, whose proposals for Trieste were more nearly like their own.

Meanwhile the natives of the colonies (especially the Cyrenaians and Tripolitarians of Libya), the Arab League, Ethiopia, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan had become much agitated by the course of the deliberations. Nearly all of the Arab tribesmen of Cyrenaica were adherents of the Sanusi sect which had resisted Italian occupation after 1912 so bitterly that they were not completely subdued until 1931 and then only after their ranks had been decimated and their leader, Sayid Idris al-Sanusi, driven into Egypt in exile. Both the memories of this "pacification" and the appropriation of their grazing land for the establishment of some 20,000 Italian colonists were kept alive to nourish hatred of Italy, whose return in any form they vowed to resist. The British Government, bound by Foreign Minister Eden's statement to the Commons, January 8, 1942, "that at the end of the war the Senussis in Cyrenaica will in no circumstances again fall under Italian domination,"<sup>4</sup> was obliged to respect their insistence. The Grand Sanusi, moreover, objected to Russia's playing any role in Cyrenaica, preferring independence jointly with Tripolitania and a close alliance with Great Britain, after the fashion of Transjordan. Notables of Tripolitania, professing no less hatred for the Italians and even greater fear of the Soviet Union, shared his sentiments if not all of his plans.

The Arab League, whose Secretary, Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, had in his youth been an adviser to Tripolitanian rebels, was already on record as favoring independence for Eritrea and Libya or, alternately, trusteeships under Arab states. Egypt registered claim to Sollum and the Oasis of Jarabub at the expense of Cyrenaica; both the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Ethiopia requested annexation of Eritrea; and, finally, Ethiopia asserted its right to Italian Somaliland. While much of the Ethiopian and Sudanese demands could be dismissed as excessive and impracti-

<sup>4</sup> House of Commons, *Debates*, Jan. 8, 1942, p. 11. This was categorically reaffirmed by Mr. Eden, Oct., 1944, to the Commons in a statement which was broad enough to mean that Britain would oppose Italy's return to all of the colonies. *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1944. However, when Prime Minister Bonomi of Italy requested clarification, he was informed that Mr. Eden was misunderstood. *London Times*, Oct. 7, 13, 1944.

cal, it was not possible to ignore them. Neither was it expedient, least of all for Britain, to discount the role of the Arab League or to backtrack on promises made to the Sanusi.

Increasing local pressures such as these, intensified by economic recession following wartime boom,<sup>7</sup> and the retreat of the Soviet Union and the United States from their original ground, encouraged Foreign Secretary Bevin to seize the initiative with a British proposal on April 29, 1946. Libya, he suggested, should be accorded immediate independence; Assab awarded to Ethiopia; and the Somali country, including Ethiopian Ogaden, joined under British trusteeship in economic union. Tripolitanian notables, the Sanusi, and the Arab League were enthusiastic. The United States was at least not unfavorable, but France received the plan coldly and the Russians were positively scornful.

The proposition that Libya receive immediate independence, said Molotov, not without some measure of truth, was conceived with the purpose of ensuring British domination. The Somaliland scheme he characterized as a meditated act of British aggression at the expense of Ethiopia, a member of the United Nations. The Russian Foreign Secretary therefore advanced a new plan of his own: the establishment of four individual trusteeships, with one of the Big Four in each case assuming primary responsibility, aided by an Italian assistant and an advisory council composed of representatives of three of the great powers and two natives. Tripolitania, of course, was to be a Soviet ward. As will be seen, Mr. Molotov's suggestion partially met the views of the French and the Italians as well as the earlier views of the Americans. To a certain extent, it may also be said to have met the British view, for Cyrenaica was to be awarded to Britain or the United States. At the same time, the proposal had the virtue, from the Soviet angle, of minimizing British influence while extending that of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean-Red Sea area. Had it been made the preceding September, when there was still high hope and less suspicion among the powers, it may be believed that it would have contributed to a reconciliation of American, French, and Soviet differences. But in the light of intervening events and the growing belief that Molotov either did not mean seriously

<sup>7</sup> *Economist*, June 28, 1947, pp. 1014-1015.

what he proposed or had hidden and dangerous intentions, this new proposition had little chance of serious consideration.

A few weeks later, when negotiations relative to Trieste were reaching a bitterly contested climax, Molotov lined up with the French and on May 10 agreed to sole Italian trusteeships. Secretary Byrnes agreed to go along provided guarantees of independence for Libya and Eritrea within a period of ten years were included, and provided Cyrenaica were assured a special autonomy giving it direct access to the United Nations. Faced with this near meeting of minds, Mr. Bevin went home for consultation but returned on May 13 to report that the plan was unacceptable to his government. During the interim, Sanusi, Tripolitarians, and Arab League leaders had signified anew their determination to resist Italy's return with the sternest measures.

Every expedient having failed, Secretary Byrnes at length suggested that Italy be required simply to renounce sovereignty over the colonies, leaving their disposition to the Council of Foreign Ministers for future consideration. This principle was accepted, despite counsel of delay both from Bevin and Molotov, and was passed along to the Paris Peace Conference where it was approved September 25, 1946, in the form already indicated.

In a sense, the wearisome negotiations at Paris had meant something of a victory, although a negative one, for each of the Great Powers. The Soviet Union had not only prevented the British from establishing a legal foothold in the colonies but had also heightened the general confusion surrounding the settlement; Britain had avoided any sort of compromise calculated to hasten its retreat from the Mediterranean; France had saved the day for its own empire by avoiding extension of independence to the Italian; the United States had been spared the embarrassment of accepting something far less than international trusteeship, which it had originally sponsored. Each could regard the period of grace before a final settlement as a welcome opportunity to accomplish its peculiar objectives. As for the politically conscious natives who desired independence, and the Italians who asked for the opportunity to administer their former colonies, postponement, though disappointing, was much preferred to an unfavorable decision.



*THE CONTINUING DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE*

Since the conclusion of the draft treaty late in 1946, such progress as may have been made toward a settlement of differences has successfully escaped public notice. Indeed, on the ground that the treaty had not been ratified, the Soviet Union failed to name its representatives to the Deputies' commission until September 30, 1947, thereby stalemating the negotiations. It could be that this obstructionist tactic was employed, as in the case of other discussions, not because of some mysterious design but because of the Kremlin's failure to get around to the question. Thus far, at least, the consequences of delay have been anything but advantageous to the Soviet Union. They have not enhanced its prestige in the Arab world, or undermined British influence in the colonies, or kept American and British policy from converging.

Meanwhile, the course of events elsewhere has been sharpening the cleavage between the Anglo-American powers and the Soviet Union. Almost at the moment when the Italian treaty was being signed, Greece was imperiled by the threatened withdrawal of British aid, so essential to continued resistance against guerilla attacks which the Soviet Union and its Balkan satellites encouraged and approved. Within a month, President Truman indicated that the United States would step in to fill the breach both in Greece and Turkey. The importance of this action and its implications could scarcely be exaggerated. It meant that the United States, which had apparently believed as late as the London Conference in September 1945 that it could play the role of mediator between Britain and Russia, had now become one of the principal contestants in the Mediterranean. The effects cannot fail to be manifest in United States policy regarding the Italian colonies, the disposition of which could so vitally affect the security of American interests throughout the whole area.

Without seeking to predict what shape this will take in its details, it may be assumed that the United States will follow the course believed most likely to ensure effective fulfillment of its commitments. Washington's policy, therefore, cannot veer far from the British in fundamental questions, although diversity of background and experience will continue to produce differences

over matters of detail. At the same time, the exigencies of the Marshall Plan require that a suitable compromise be found with France, which, besides maintaining an interest in the Fezzan, thus far has given no evidence of weakening in its opposition to the principle of colonial independence.

Viewing the situation for the moment solely with these conditions and the three Western powers in mind, it becomes apparent that no insurmountable difficulties obstruct the path to agreement in respect to Somaliland and Eritrea. A trusteeship for Italian Somaliland alone, or a union of all the Somali people, as the British have proposed, could probably be arranged without serious controversy. It might be added, in passing, that a United Somaliland has much to recommend it in the interest of the native people. So long as there are no precise commitments in favor of Eritrean independence, France may be expected to agree to any arrangement which Britain and the United States find mutually satisfactory. Assab, in any case, is likely to go to Ethiopia, and the Sudan is almost certain to win some concessions; but most of the colony, which has benefited from European administration and would be doomed to retrogression were it completely partitioned, will doubtless remain intact.

The serious problem arises in Libya. As has been indicated, no plan satisfactory to the three Western powers emerged from the long treaty negotiations. It is certain that Britain cannot agree to the restoration of Italian authority in Cyrenaica, the eastern portion of the province, so that an Italian trusteeship there seems to be entirely out of the question. A British trusteeship or even an American trusteeship would meet with the resentment of the Sanusi and the objection of the Arab League, but might, nevertheless, be possible as a form of agreement among the three Western powers, so long as it does not carry a pledge of independence in the very near future. Real independence appears to be unrealizable under present circumstances, for the fact is that the native peoples are not now nor are they likely at the end of ten years to be equipped either from the point of view of material development or political experience to manage their affairs without considerable outside aid and tutelage. It would be possible, of course, to skirt these difficulties through a close under-

standing between an independent Libya and one of the Great Powers. But it is the very principle of independence, whether it be a reality or not, to which the French object with the same persistence as the British oppose the return of the Italians to Cyrenaica. For Cyrenaica, therefore, if not for the whole of Libya, it would appear that a non-Italian trusteeship would be the only practicable arrangement; and for Tripolitania as well as Cyrenaica the promise of independence, if actually made, must be restrained.

It is possible but hardly probable that the United States and Britain would adhere to the principle of independence for Libya on the assumption that, despite France, they could carry the cause in the United Nations Assembly at some future time. They could, perhaps, do so but at the price of damaging the delicate internal political balance in France and, perchance, rupturing the entente which has been shaping around the Marshall Plan.

### *ITALY AND THE COLONIES*

In reviewing the elements which currently influence deliberations upon the future of the colonies, it is obviously necessary to take Italy into account. Geographic position, as well as the number and quality of its people, make the republic a factor of no small consequence, despite material weaknesses, in the present Mediterranean diplomatic duel. For the Western powers, in particular, it is important to help establish internal economic and political stability and to mitigate the blow of an exacting peace. The ultimate disposition of the colonies will undoubtedly affect, in some degree, the extent of their success or failure.

Since the earliest days of liberation, successive Italian governments have championed the restoration of the pre-Fascist empire in Africa on the well-tryed grounds of justice, native welfare, and national economic necessity. These arguments, although they have largely ignored the bitter heritage left by the Fascist regime, have not lacked a reasonable measure of justification. Long before Mussolini's time, Italy had expended heavily in the colonies of its meager material wealth and, in spite of administrative shortcomings from time to time, had throughout the years

exerted itself to advance the common good. Besides, even though the colonies never did nor could now absorb any substantial number of Italians, the government of a nation populated beyond its resources could hardly be condemned for attempting to salvage an outlet, even though it be a modest one, unless, as is not at present the case, sufficient opportunities for migration elsewhere are at hand. Consequently, it is not surprising that spokesmen of such varied political attachments as Ivanoe Bonomi, Giuseppe Saragat, Pietro Nenni, and Alcide de Gasperi should have pressed Italian claims during the treaty negotiations and should have shown disappointment when these were not honored. Viewed through Italian eyes, the campaign to deprive Italy entirely of its colonies makes little sense indeed unless it be to compensate Great Britain for its losses elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> Their claim is not that Italy shall be permitted to return to an ancient and outmoded form of imperialism, but that it shall be allowed to carry on its constructive efforts in Africa in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.<sup>9</sup>

It is interesting to note that the discussions of the Italian treaty in the Constituent Assembly never really centered around the colonial question, but rather around reparations and the fate of Istria, Trieste, Briga, and Tenda, all of which were calculated to evoke strong emotional responses.<sup>10</sup> However, it would be unsafe to conclude from this that the hardy roots of Italian colonialism are withering unnourished. The press has maintained a steady interest in the former colonies, the Ministry of Colonies has been kept in the Cabinet, colonial studies have been revived, and the tens of thousands of former colonists repatriated to Italy during the war, often now in the ranks of the two million unemployed, contrive to keep the issue much alive.<sup>11</sup> Even more signifi-

<sup>8</sup> Services Français d'Information, *Articles et Documents*, No. 966, June 16, 1947, pp. 7-8.

<sup>9</sup> *La Voce dell'Africa*, No. 20, May 26-June 1, 1947. Articles of Riccardo Astuto and Pietro Nenni are reproduced in *Articles et Documents*, No. 942, May 23, 1947, pp. 1-3, 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> For some characteristic references see *Assemblea Costituente*, III, June 28, 1946, pp. 20-21; IV, July 15, 1946, p. 31; VI, July 17, 1946, p. 79; XI, July 23, 1946, pp. 262-263; XIII, July 25, 1946, pp. 354-356.

<sup>11</sup> During the spring of 1947, for example, two conferences on colonial Africa were held, one at Rome and the other at Florence, both with considerable success. Among other interesting manifestations of continuing concern with the colonies, has been the appearance over the past three years of a weekly periodical, *La Voce dell'Africa*, and the launching of a new review, *Difesa Africana*, during the summer of 1947. The regular press, including the communist *L'Unità*, carries from time to time lead articles on the colonies which are usually highly critical of British administration.



cant, perhaps, is the fact that the Communist Party, so sensitive to the public mood, has judged it expedient to lend modest encouragement to the cause whenever it breaks a generally discreet silence. After a signed article appearing in *L'Unità* during September 1945, when he urged that the colonies be freed and granted self-government, Palmiro Togliatti did not again put himself on record so categorically; while in May 1947, Umberto Terracini, communist president of the Constituent Assembly, visited the congress of the Centro Studi Coloniali and expressed his approval of the revival of interest in the colonial world which this meeting manifested.<sup>12</sup>

The blatant imperialism of the recent past vanished with the Fascist regime but the spirit of colonialism persists. Failure to provide an outlet for it in the present temper and condition of the nation will undoubtedly heighten the growing disillusionment with the peace. Yet in view of the mistakes of the Fascist era and the resentment of native populations especially in Libya and Eritrea, the promises of Britain and, paradoxically, the weaknesses of the republic itself, it is difficult to see how Italian desires could be satisfied. Even if all other factors were in its favor, the costs of African enterprise would be difficult to bear and the means of defending the territories would be lacking. If some of its former empire is to be returned to Italy in the form of trusteeships, it will be because the powers cannot agree upon distribution among themselves or because they calculate that Italy can be useful in the balancing of power in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. At all events, it now seems a practical certainty that any agreement regarding the colonies will be, in the first instance, a measure of the discord which has risen since World War II rather than the concord which many had hopefully been given to expect.

<sup>12</sup> *La Voce dell'Africa*, No. 20, May 26-June 1, 1947.

# DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY<sup>1</sup>

JUNE 1—AUGUST 31, 1947

AS GREAT BRITAIN settled its problem in India by creating the two dominions of Pakistan and India, its other two centers of chief concern in the Middle East—Palestine and Egypt—came before the critical deliberation of the United Nations. From the middle of June to the last week in July, a special committee investigated the situation in Palestine, and on the last day of August submitted to the General Assembly its recommendation for partition and the termination of the mandate. During August, as well, Egypt presented its case against the presence of British troops in the Suez Canal zone and against a continuation of the condominium in the Sudan. The Security Council failed to make a recommendation before it adjourned on August 29, but its discussions left the impression that Egypt had offered insufficient evidence on which to base its case. Great Britain's position in the Middle East thus continued the process of post-war evolution; where it would end depended heavily on Britain's own financial position and its ability to weather the economic crisis it faced at home.

While Egypt centered attention on its relations with Great Britain, in the three northern Arab states of Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria, representative forms of government were being put to the test in a series of regular parliamentary elections. In Iraq, where returns were in by the end of March, the

government party was reinstated in power. Fears of Russian pressure and the sensation created by the disclosure of extensive communist activity in the country served to assure, for the time being at least, the continued influence of the Regent and a policy in line with Britain's interests. The elections in Lebanon, the first to be held since the establishment of the country's independence, were completed by the first week in June. Their conduct brought a storm of protest and accusation on the government and its supporters. The Lebanese press and opposition spokesmen charged direct physical interference in the balloting; their underlying complaint was that with few exceptions political leaders in Lebanon were motivated by little more than mercenary interests, and thereby were demoralizing the republic at the very time it most needed to evolve a national consciousness.

Protests over the Syrian elections, completed in July, were moderate in comparison to those voiced in Lebanon. The results appeared to strengthen the Damascus government in its relations with districts which, under French administration, frequently had voiced resentment against centralized authority. Especially marked was the change in the temper of the Alawites since the execution of their leader, Sulayman al-Murshid, in December 1946. Despite the defeat of government candidates in Aleppo, Hama, Deir ez-Zor, and the Jazirah, the delegates elected gave promise of constituting a moderate opposition more interested in

<sup>1</sup> All items in the Chronology are drawn from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated.

purifying the party in power than in supplanting it. Only in the Jebel Druze, where clan loyalty was still strong, were the election results seriously questioned, and here the division was primarily among the Druzes themselves. Reactionary and radical groups made a poor showing. The ultra-Moslems succeeded in seating three candidates, but were set back by the government's dissolution of the ulema organization. Greater Syria advocates, both the supporters of King Abdallah's scheme and the members of Anton Saadi's now disrupted Syrian National Party, failed even to enter a candidate; while the communists, who were scattered widely among the communal groupings on which representation in the parliament is based, also were unable to muster sufficient concentrated support to secure a seat for themselves.

## Afghanistan

Responding to Great Britain's announcement of the coming independence of India, and in particular of the referendum in the North-West Frontier Province scheduled for July, the Afghan Government addressed a note to London on June 13 reaffirming its interest in the final disposition of the province. Neither the note nor the press campaign in Kabul which followed it made specific just what territory was involved, or what Afghanistan's interests were. In some instances reference was made to the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, in some to merely the Tribal Areas, and in others to the whole region west of the Indus River. The Afghan Government urged that the province be given the four alternatives of opting for India, Pakistan, independence, or reunion with the "motherland" of Afghanistan. The suggestion for an independent "Pathanistan" had been voiced before among Congress Moslems, including Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the tribal leader in the North-West Frontier Province. Gandhi also gave it his support in a statement on June 19.

Afghanistan's motives did not appear to be primarily irredentist. They were more likely dictated by a desire to assure security in the Tribal Areas, and in particular to

strengthen the government's position with the Pathan tribes on the Afghan side of the border. In any case, Great Britain did not concede Afghanistan's request, although giving it consideration. A second note from Kabul, dated July 10, kept the matter open from Afghanistan's point of view and indicated a continued interest in securing some measure of autonomy for the Pathan tribes within the Dominion of Pakistan.

## CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 13:* The Afghan Government presented a note to the British Government urging that in the referendum announced for July the North-West Frontier Province be given the choice of becoming independent or joining Afghanistan, as well as the choice of entering the dominion of India or Pakistan.

*July 4:* In a note to the Afghan Government, the British Government refused the Afghan request of June 13, stating that the frontier between India and Afghanistan was established by international recognition and need not be discussed at this time.

*July 10:* The Afghan Government presented a second note to the British Government reiterating the point of view expressed on June 13.

*July 26:* Prime Minister Sardar Shah Mahmud arrived in London. (*London Times*, July 28, 1947, page 4.)

*Aug. 3:* Prime Minister Sardar Shah Mahmud reached New York on an unofficial visit to the United States.

## Egypt and the Sudan

Egypt's case against Great Britain was presented to the Security Council on August 5; the Council adjourned on August 29 without having taken action. Throughout the discussion doubt was apparent as to whether there existed here a case for the Security Council at all, or rather a legal question more in the domain of the International Court of Justice. The nearly successful Brazilian resolution, which would have directed Egypt and Great Britain to resume negotiations, and in case of failure "to seek a solution of the dispute by other peaceful means of their own choice," was bitterly criticized by Egypt, but reflected the unwillingness of the Council to consider the

problem as an imminent threat to the peace.

If any threat to the peace was to be found in a continuance of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, it lay in the inability or unwillingness of the Egyptian Government to control the increasingly xenophobic and fanatical character of Egyptian nationalist demonstrations. Egyptian Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha, however, placed Egypt's case more on legal than *de facto* grounds, insisting that the obligations which United Nations placed on its members required the abolition of the treaty.

Once the case had been entered in this fashion, it was relatively easy for Sir Alexander Cadogan, the British delegate, to point out that an argument based on the principle of *rebus sic stantibus* must be supported by the most convincing sort of evidence; that Egypt signed the treaty of 1936 under no compulsion and therefore as a sovereign state; that there was nothing in the United Nations Charter which invalidated bilateral treaties; and finally that Great Britain, in maintaining troops at the Suez Canal and in continuing the condominium over the Sudan, was merely acting in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. Egypt, refusing to admit the possibility of compromise on the Sudan, failed to argue the more demonstrable case that the administration of the Sudan was in fact not being conducted in accordance with the provisions of the condominium, which admitted Egypt to joint rule with Britain.

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

June 24: The Vatican, through Msgr. Arthur Hughes, the apostolic delegate in Cairo, accepted the Egyptian Government's suggestion that diplomatic relations between the two countries be established.

June 30: Egypt signed an interim financial agreement with Great Britain whereby it left the sterling bloc. The agreement was to come into force July 14, was to cover the remainder of 1947, and was capable of extension.

July 11: Mahmud Hasan Pasha, Ambassador to the U. S., delivered Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha's request, dated July 8, that the Anglo-Egyptian dispute be placed on the agenda of

the Security Council. (Text in *New York Times*, July 12, 1947, page 5.)

The government declared a state of emergency in Cairo and quelled a Wafdist attempt to demonstrate against the British.

July 14: The Anglo-Egyptian interim financial agreement came into force.

July 22: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha, accompanied by Abd al-Majid Salih Pasha, Minister of Public Works, arrived in the U. S. to present the Egyptian case before the Security Council. In their absence, Ahmad Khashaba Pasha had been appointed Acting Prime Minister and Ahmad Abd al-Ghaffar Pasha Acting Minister of Public Works.

Aug. 5: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha presented Egypt's case before the Security Council, asking the end of British administration of the Sudan and complete evacuation of British troops from Egypt and the Sudan.

Aug. 11: Sir Alexander Cadogan for Britain and Nuqrashi Pasha for Egypt presented their countries' views before the Security Council, at its second session on the Anglo-Egyptian dispute.

Aug. 13: Ismail al-Azhari, the head of the Sudanese delegation to the Security Council session on the Anglo-Egyptian question, arrived in New York.

The Polish representative on the Security Council proposed a resolution that the question of British troops in Egypt be considered separately from the problem of the Sudan.

Aug. 20: The Brazilian member on the Security Council proposed that Egypt and Britain should resume direct negotiation of their dispute. Andrei Gromyko, the Russian representative on the Security Council, supported the Egyptian demand for removal of British troops from Egypt and asserted that the Security Council had the power to act in this case under the terms of its charter, but that it could not decide on the Sudan issue at this time.

Aug. 22: Anti-foreign riots broke out in Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Said in protest against developments in the Security Council.

In the Security Council, Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha rejected the Brazilian proposal that Britain and Egypt attempt to settle the disagreement by direct negotiations.

The British Embassy at Cairo announced that Egypt would be allowed to convert £1,500,000 into dollars immediately.

Aug. 23: It was announced that Pope Pius XII had named Msgr. Arthur Hughes to the post of apostolic internunciatory in Egypt, thus making Egypt the first Moslem country to have



diplomatic relations on this level with the Vatican.

*Aug. 28:* The Security Council failed by one vote to pass the Brazilian resolution recommending that Egypt and Britain resume direct negotiations.

Sixty members of the National Maritime Union under the leadership of two Egyptians took part in a political demonstration before the gates of the building in which the Security Council was discussing the Anglo-Egyptian dispute.

*Aug. 29:* Cairo police quelled demonstrations in protest against the status of the Egyptian case before the Security Council.

The Security Council postponed further discussion on the Anglo-Egyptian question until Sept. 9.

## Ethiopia

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*July 12:* It was reported that the Swedish air line, SILA, had announced the ending of its air service to Addis Ababa because of the unsatisfactory condition of the airport there. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, July 12, 1947, page 27.)

*July 17:* Ethiopia informed UN that it renounced UN reconstruction aid in favor of nations more urgently in need of assistance.

*July 30:* Ras Haile Selassie Gugsu, son-in-law of Emperor Haile Selassie, was sentenced to death for high treason on the charge of collaborating with the Italians during World War II.

*Aug. 1:* It was announced that Assistant Professor Albert H. Garretson of New York University had been appointed legal adviser to Haile Selassie.

## India and Pakistan

The partition of India, announced by the British Government on June 3, enacted into law as the Indian Independence Act on July 18,<sup>1</sup> and put into effect on August 15, cut the Gordian knot of Indian communalism with one swift stroke. The solution gave rise to many grave doubts, yet there appeared to be no other which could win the support of both the Congress Party and the Moslem League.

<sup>1</sup> For text, see page 451.

Its immediate effect was to give communal hatreds free rein, until on both sides of the new frontier in Punjab the rioting and massacre of Hindus, Moslems, and Sikhs reduced the province to a state of near anarchy.

Aside from the critical problem presented by communal conflict and the displacement of a population already living at subsistence level, the partition of India into the dominions of Pakistan and India confronted native governmental leaders with a series of extremely complex organizational problems. Foremost among these was the drawing up of constitutions, to which both dominions began to address themselves. A further problem was the relationship to be established with the Princely States, most of which had agreed to enter the dominions but on conditions still undetermined. Economic relations between Pakistan and India were also due to become of the utmost importance as the more violent phase of communal strife exhausted itself and the people again turned their thoughts to making a living. Still in the future lay also the determination of a foreign policy, in particular as regards the dominions' relations with Great Britain.

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 1:* The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, visited the riot-torn areas of the Gurgaon District in Punjab Province.

*June 3:* The British Government plan for India, announced in London and New Delhi, included partition into Hindu and Moslem states, an offer of dominion status, and transfer of British power in the summer of 1947. (Text of Prime Minister Attlee's statement in *New York Times*, June 4, 1947, page 3.)

In his radio address concerning the new British proposals Mohammed Ali Jinnah stated that the Moslem League in the North-West Frontier Province had been requested to call off its civil disobedience campaign.

*June 4:* Mohandas K. Gandhi stated that he would not oppose the British plan for partition of India though he still believed partition was bad for India.

The Nawab of Bhopal resigned as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. The position was taken over by the Maharaja of Patiala.

*June 6:* The standing committee of the Chamber

of Princes adopted a resolution recommending dissolution of the Chamber.

*June 9:* The All-India Moslem League Council accepted by a vote of 300 to 10 the British plan for partition of India.

*June 10:* The U. S. Department of State expressed the hope that all would work out well for India and reiterated U. S. friendship for Indians of all communities and creeds. (Dept. of State Press Release No. 466, June 10, 1947.)

*June 11:* It was announced that the Moslem League Council had chosen Karachi as temporary capital of Pakistan.

*June 12:* The division of India was accepted by two major Sikh parties with the reservation that their community should remain territorially intact.

*June 15:* The All-India Congress Party Committee voted, 153 to 29 with 32 abstentions, to accept the British plan for partitioning India. The committee adopted a resolution saying the party "cannot admit the right of any state in India to declare its independence and to live in isolation from the rest of India," an expression of its opposition to the independence movement on the part of some of the Princely States.

*June 17:* Jinnah issued a statement to the effect that the Princely States would be free to decide for themselves what course they would pursue upon termination of British control on Aug. 15. He added that Pakistan would welcome establishment of official relations with such independent states.

The government of Mysore announced it would join the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi.

*June 19:* Gandhi expressed himself in favor of a free frontier state of Pathanistan.

*June 20:* Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly representing the non-Moslem majority of the province voted 58-22 for partitioning the province.

*June 21:* Lahore experienced its worst day of arson and bombing (nine were killed by grenades in the city's market center) in the recent disturbances.

Seventy-one dead was the toll of two days' outbreaks in India.

*June 23:* Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly representing the non-Moslem majority areas of eastern Punjab voted 50 to 22 in favor of partitioning the province.

The police estimated the number of deaths due to violence in Punjab since Mar. 3, 1947, at 3,200.

*June 25:* The appointment of Mrs. Vijaya Lak-

shmi Pandit as first Indian Ambassador to Russia was announced.

Rioting, arson, and the departure of refugees continued in Lahore.

*June 27:* The initial meeting of the Partition Council, which replaced the Partition Committee set up to work out the preliminaries of partition, was presided over by the Viceroy in New Delhi. The Council included Moslem League representatives Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan; Congress Party representatives Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

*June 28:* Jinnah released to the press a statement of his opposition to the Frontier Congress Party's demand for a free Pathan state.

*June 29:* British Baluchistan voted to join Pakistan.

*July 1:* Henry F. Grady presented to the Viceroy his letters of credence as first U. S. Ambassador to India.

The Viceroy announced that the Partition Council had worked out details for division of the Indian army between India and Pakistan.

*July 4:* The bill for granting independence to India was presented to the House of Commons.

It was announced that Sir Cyril Radcliffe had been accepted by Hindus and Moslems as chairman of the boundary commission.

*July 5:* The new States Department created to deal with matters between the Central Government and the Indian States was inaugurated. The department was in the charge of Sardar Patel, in consultation with Abdur Rab Nishtar.

A confederation of 16 Princely States in western and central India and Bombay Province was completed; it was to be headed by Jam Saheb of Navanagar.

Rioting between Hindus and Moslems broke out in Calcutta.

*July 7:* In Calcutta 23 people were killed and 138 injured in rioting following the funeral procession of Moslems who carried through the streets the body of a Moslem police officer murdered the night before.

*July 8:* A one-day strike was held in New Delhi by Sikhs and Hindus protesting the splitting of the Sikhs' territory between Pakistan and India.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe arrived in India to head the boundary commission.

Continuance of rioting resulted in the imposition of a curfew in Calcutta, with British tanks and troops on patrol.

The French Indian National Congress at Pondichéry cabled the French Government requesting that France abandon its Indian territories.

*July 9:* Conferences were started in New Delhi by some of the Princely States to decide on future relations with the forthcoming dominions.

*July 10:* Prime Minister Attlee announced in Parliament that the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, would become Governor-General of the Dominion of India, and that Mohammed Ali Jinnah would be Governor-General of Pakistan.

Prime Minister Attlee also announced that a Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations would henceforth assist the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in matters pertaining to British relations with Pakistan and India; that the India Office and post of Secretary of State for India would be discontinued as of Aug. 15.

*July 11:* The Partition Council announced the division of armed forces between the dominions of India and Pakistan. (Terms in *New York Times*, July 12, 1947, page 4.)

Rioting in Calcutta decreased; according to official figures there had been 50 deaths and injury to almost 300 in the four previous days.

*July 13:* The Sylhet District of Assam Province voted to join Pakistan by 239,619 votes to 184,041. Percentage of valid votes to total of electorate entitled to vote was 77.33.

*July 14:* The Constituent Assembly reconvened for its fourth session in New Delhi, the first time with an undisputed mandate to draft a constitution and function as an interim law-making body for the Dominion of India. Over 80 new members joined, including the Moslem League members and representatives of the Princely States which had decided to join the Dominion of India.

*July 16:* It was announced that Dr. P. P. Pillai had been appointed India's permanent representative with UN.

*July 17:* A bilateral air transport agreement was signed at New Delhi by the governments of India and France.

*July 18:* The Bill for Indian Independence received the Royal Assent.

*July 19:* The Viceroy announced the reconstitution of the Interim Government into two provisional governments to act as cabinets for India and Pakistan until their independence on Aug. 15. The redistribution of portfolios in consequence of this change was as follows:

#### India

Pandit Nehru — Foreign Affairs, Commonwealth Relations, and Legislative Affairs

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel — Home Affairs, Information, Broadcasting, and States

Rajendra Prasad — Food and Agriculture  
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad — Education  
C. Rajagopalachari — Industries, Supplies, and Finance

Sardar Baldev Singh — Defense

Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha — Works, Mines and Power, Commerce

John Matthai — Transport, Railways, Communications

Jagjivan Ram — Labor and Health.

#### Pakistan

Liaquat Ali Khan — Finance, Foreign Affairs, Commonwealth Relations, Defense

I. I. Chundrigar — Commerce, Industries and Supplies, Works, Mines and Power  
Abdur Rab Nishtar — Communications, Railways and Transport, Information and Broadcasting, States

Ghazanfar Ali Khan — Health, Food, Agriculture, and Home Affairs

Jogendra Nath Mandal — Legislative Affairs, Education, Labor.

*July 20:* The Viceroy announced that the North-West Frontier Province had voted, 289,244 to 2,874, to join the Dominion of Pakistan; 55.99 per cent of the eligible electorate voted.

*July 21:* It was announced in London that Sir Laurence Grafftey-Smith had been appointed first British High Commissioner in Pakistan and that Sir Terrence Shone would remain as High Commissioner in India.

*July 24:* The Partition Council announced the creation of a special joint military command in Punjab Province under the command of Maj. Gen. T. W. Rees to guard against disturbances there when partition boundaries were announced.

*July 25:* A conference of nearly 100 rulers and representatives of the Indian States was held in the Chamber of Princes with the Viceroy presiding to arrange their future relationships with the dominions.

*July 30:* The Indonesian situation was called to the attention of the UN Security Council in a letter from Pandit Nehru. (Text in *New York Times*, July 31, 1947, page 3.)

*July 31:* The Indian Constituent Assembly adjourned to midnight August 14, when it would reconvene to assume its functions as sovereign Parliament of the Dominion of India.

*Aug. 1:* It was reported that 22 States, including Travancore, Cochin, Baroda, Gwalior, Patiala, Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Navanagar had officially expressed readiness to accede to the Dominion of India. (London *Times*, Aug. 2, 1947, page 3.)

*Aug. 3:* Mrs Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit left India to

take up her post in Moscow as Indian Ambassador to Russia.

*Aug. 8:* Eleven Moslems on a train entering Calcutta were killed by Hindus, in reprisal for a Moslem attack, August 7, on a train which caused the death of a Hindu. The incident led to widespread disorder throughout Calcutta.

According to an announcement made by the Punjab Government, 120 had been killed in recent rioting in Amritsar District.

*Aug. 9-10:* Indians in Pondichéry, French India, held demonstrations to stress their demands for French withdrawal.

*Aug. 10:* The Pakistan Constituent Assembly held its initial session in Karachi to begin work on drafting a constitution for Pakistan. Jogendra Nath Mandal was elected chairman.

*Aug. 11:* Mohammed Ali Jinnah was elected president of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

It was announced that Pakistan had reached an agreement with Kalat which gave the latter an independent sovereign status.

*Aug. 13:* Gandhi took up residence in Calcutta in an effort to bring to an end the communal rioting there.

Punjab Province experienced the most violent rioting in five months with hundreds of casualties.

*Aug. 14:* The Viceroy gave his farewell address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly at Karachi.

Great Britain and the Government of India concluded an interim financial agreement to cover the period to the end of 1947, whereby £35,000,000 would be made available from India's existing balances for expenditure in any currency area up to Dec. 31, 1947. A working balance of £30,000,000 was placed at the disposal of the Reserve Bank of India. (*London Times*, Aug. 15, 1947, page 4.)

*Aug. 15:* India's Independence Day; British power in India was transferred to the dominions of India and Pakistan.

The United States extended full diplomatic recognition to Pakistan, and the consulate at Karachi was raised to the rank of an embassy.

In Karachi Mohammed Ali Jinnah took the oath as Governor-General of Pakistan. The following were the members of his cabinet who also were sworn in:

Liaquat Ali Khan — Prime Minister,  
Foreign Affairs, Defense  
Ghulam Mohammed — Finance  
Ghazanfar Ali Khan — Food, Agriculture,  
Health  
Abdur Rab Nishtar — Communications

I. I. Chundrigar — Commerce, Industry,  
Works

Jogendra Nath Mandal — Law and Labor  
Fazlur Rahman — Home Affairs, Information, and Education

In New Delhi Pandit Nehru became Prime Minister of the Dominion of India; the former Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, became Governor-General of India; the following were sworn in as members of the cabinet of the Dominion of India:

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru — Prime Minister, External Affairs, Commonwealth Relations, Scientific Research

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel — Home, Information and Broadcasting, States

Rajendra Prasad — Food and Agriculture

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad — Education

John Matthai — Railways and Transport

Sardar Baldev Singh — Defense

Jagjivan Ram — Labor

Cooverji Hormusji Bhabha — Commerce

Rafi Ahmad Kidwai — Communications

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur — Health

B. R. Ambedkar — Law

R. K. Shanmukham Chetty — Finance

Shyama Prasad Mukerji — Industries and Supplies

N. V. Gadgil — Works, Mines, and Power

The Indian Independence [international arrangements] Order, 1947, went into effect. According to its terms membership in international organizations devolved solely upon the Dominion of India, while Pakistan agreed to take the necessary steps to apply for membership in such international organizations as it might choose to join. (India Information Services Release No. 3456, Aug. 21, 1947.)

It was announced that the King had approved the appointment of Arthur Henderson to the post of Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations to act as assistant to Lord Addison, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in conducting relations with the dominions of India and Pakistan. (*London Times*, Aug. 15, 1947, page 4.)

V. K. Krishna Menon assumed his duties as High Commissioner for India in London.

*Aug. 16:* The Joint Defense Council of the dominions of India and Pakistan held its first meeting in New Delhi to discuss ways of strengthening security forces for both dominions. The meeting was attended by Prime Ministers Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan, Home Ministers Sardar Patel and Fazlur Rahman, and Field Marshal Auchinleck.



*Aug. 17:* The joint boundary commission announced the divisions of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal: Lahore was given to Pakistan; Amritsar and Calcutta were ceded to India. (Details in *New York Times*, Aug. 18, 1947, page 1.)

Lord Mountbatten was in Bombay on the occasion of the departure of 5,000 British troops, the first contingent to be repatriated following the transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

The French Colonial Minister announced readjustments in French India whereby Pondichéry, Karikal, Chandernagor, Mahé, and Yanam would be free cities within the French Union.

*Aug. 17-18:* The Prime Ministers of the two dominions conferred at Ambala and Lahore on measures for ending the disturbances in the Punjab.

*Aug. 18:* The UN Security Council voted unanimously to admit Pakistan to membership in UN.

*Aug. 19:* Two British subalterns were slain at Amritsar, apparently victims of the communal strife.

*Aug. 24-25:* Nehru again visited the disturbed areas in the Punjab.

*Aug. 25:* An outbreak of rioting in a Delhi textile mill caused the death of four persons.

*Aug. 27:* Pakistan was admitted to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization.

*Aug. 29:* The Governors-General, Premiers, and Commanders-in-Chief of India and Pakistan met in Lahore to take measures against the communal rioting. They decided to dissolve the Punjab Boundary Force and turn over to the dominion governments responsibility for maintenance of security.

*Aug. 30:* Pandit Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan began a 1,000-mile tour through Punjab in an attempt to restore peace there.

## Iran

With the convening of the Majlis (Parliament) in July, the Soviet Government renewed pressure for ratification of the proposed Iranian-Soviet oil agreement which Premier Qavam had initialed in the spring of 1946. Soviet Ambassador Sadchikov called a half dozen times upon the prime minister, but neither Qavam nor the Majlis showed much disposition to hasten a decision, and still less

to favor the agreement. On the contrary, the Iranian Government continued to assume an independent attitude toward the Russians and their activities in Iran. Early in July the Iranian Government requested them to cease unlicensed operation of air service within northern Iran, between Meshed, Tehran, Resht, and Tabriz, and to negotiate for flights into the country from the Soviet Union. In response, the Russians cancelled all scheduled flights into Iran, and grounded their planes already in the country. Encouraged by the Soviet Union's correctness in this action, and despite rumors of troop concentrations on the Soviet-Iranian frontier, Tehran appeared to remain confident that the USSR would prove equally acquiescent should the Majlis refuse to ratify the oil agreement.

## CHRONOLOGY

### 1947

*June 1:* It was announced in Tehran that a second official note had been sent to the Soviet Union requesting payment of its \$20,000,000 wartime debt to Iran.

*June 7:* The Iranian Minister in Prague was handed a resolution by the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions which condemned "anti-democratic" measures taken by the Iranian Government against unions and their members. If full union freedom was not restored, the resolution threatened the case would be brought before UN.

*June 15:* The Iranian army was reported to have encircled 1,000 Barzani tribesmen in the extreme northwest corner of Iran.

*June 17:* The military government of Tehran, in force since the Allies entered the country in 1941, was ended by Premier Qavam.

*June 19:* It was reported that the Barzani tribesmen had broken through the Iranian army encirclement and had reached Russian territory. (*Palestine Affairs*, July 1947, page 77.)

The Iranian Cabinet resigned. (*London Times*, June 20, 1947, page 3.)

*June 21:* It was reported that Prime Minister Qavam had presented for the Shah's approval the following reorganized cabinet:

Ahmad Qavam — Prime Minister  
Dr. Issa Sadiq — Education  
Ali Asghar Hekmat — Labor and Propaganda

Annoshiravan Sepahbodi — Foreign Affairs

Mustafa Adl — Justice

Gen. Farajullah Aghaveli — Interior

Ali Nasr — Posts and Telegraphs

Ahmed Hussein Adl — Agriculture

Abol Hasan Sadeghie — National Economy

Ali Akbar Moosavizadeh — Minister Without Portfolio

Mohammad Ali Homayunjah — Minister Without Portfolio

Abdul Hussein Hazhir — Finance

Gholam Hussein Furuher — Roads and Communications

Dr. Manuchehr Egbal — Public Health

Amir Ahmad Ahmadi — War

*June 23:* Gen. Hussein Moshiri of the Iranian State Police arrived in the U. S. to confer with War Department officials on the purchase of trucks and other vehicles.

*June 26:* Three Tehran newspapers, one leftist and two rightist, reported attacks by armed mobs which overturned type forms, scattered equipment, and broke windows and doors.

*July 6:* An Iranian Government decree established specific routes in Iran to be followed by foreign aircraft and prohibited flights except by special permission of the Minister of Interior.

*July 8:* Premier Qavam reimposed martial law in Iran on the grounds that unfair criticism of the government by the press had forced the action. This move was followed by the resignation of Gen. Amir Ahmadi, Minister of War.

*July 9:* Six newspapers were suppressed by the government on charges of "creating panic," and three editors were arrested.

Gen. Farajullah Aghaveli resigned as Minister of the Interior.

*July 17:* The Shah opened the new Majlis (Parliament) after a 16-month recess.

*Aug. 12:* The London *Times*, quoting Tass, reported that the Soviet Ambassador in Iran, Ivan Sadchikov, had handed Prime Minister Qavam a draft treaty embodying plans for the organization of a mixed Soviet-Iranian Oil Company drawn up in accordance with the Soviet-Iranian agreement of April 4, 1946, to be approved by the Majlis. (London *Times*, Aug. 19, 1947, page 4.)

It was announced in Tehran that Mozaffar Firuz no longer held the post of Ambassador in Moscow. (*Etalaat*, Aug. 12, 1947.)

*Aug. 17:* Reza Hekmat, the government party candidate, was elected permanent president of the Majlis.

*Aug. 24:* *Pravda* charged that Premier Qavam was

trying to break the Soviet-Iranian oil agreement of 1946 before the Majlis ratified it.

*Aug. 26:* Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, twin sister of the Shah, arrived in the U. S. to study American Red Cross methods.

Premier Qavam resigned according to constitutional procedure.

*Aug. 30:* Premier Qavam received the Majlis' vote of confidence by 78 to 38.

## Iraq

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 1:* The Iraqi Defense Ministry announced that Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani, Kurdish chief, had been driven out of Iraq and was fleeing to Iranian Azerbaijan or the Soviet Union with more than 1,000 followers.

*June 2:* In Baghdad, a group of communists being tried for treason were turned over to the High Court for a new trial.

*June 10:* The Transjordan-Iraq Treaty of Brotherhood and Alliance became effective. (For text, see page 449.)

*June 12:* The Iraqi Senate ratified the Turko-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship.

*June 15:* The government banned the transit through Iraq of goods to or from Palestine as part of the Arab boycott of Jewish-produced goods.

*June 24:* Yusuf Salman, leader of the Iraqi Communist Party, Naji Shummel, and Zaki Basim, members of the central committee of the party, were condemned to death on charges of "propagating Communism" among army personnel and civilians. Ten other party members were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment; 17 were acquitted.

*June 31:* A Turko-Iraqi air agreement was signed. (*Ulus*, Ankara.)

*July 14:* The death sentence imposed on Yusuf Salman was commuted to life imprisonment by the Iraqi Supreme Court. The death sentences on Naji Shummel and Zaki Basim were commuted to 15 years at hard labor.

*Aug. 13:* The British Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Iraqi Ambassador signed an agreement regularizing the use of Iraqi sterling balances over a five year period beginning with July 1947; Iraq remained a member of the sterling area. (London *Times*, Aug. 14, 1947, page 4.)

*Aug. 14:* The Regent, Abd al-Ilah, arrived in London. (London *Times*, Aug. 15, 1947, page 8.)

## Italian Colonies

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

June 17: French Foreign Minister Bidault advocated the return to Italy of its pre-Fascist colonies.

July 2: UN Secretary-General Lie stated that he would send missions to the former Italian colonies of Eritrea, Cyrenaica, and Tripolitania to determine their rehabilitation needs. (London Times, July 3, 1947, page 3.)

## Lebanon

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

June 2: Parliamentary elections were completed. (Alif Ba, June 3, 1947, page 1.)

June 8: Premier Riad al-Sulh announced the following as members of the new Cabinet:

Hamid Franjiyah — Foreign Affairs and Education

Camille Chamoun — Interior and Health

Gabriel Murr — Public Works and Vice Prime Minister

Muhammad al-Abbud — Finance

Ahmad Husayni — Justice

Majid Arslan — Defense

Sulayman Nawfal — Agriculture and Economy

All leading daily newspapers, except *Le Jour*, sent a letter to President Bishara al-Khuri announcing they would no longer cover the joint sessions of the newly elected National Assembly, charging that it was not representative of the nation and urging its dissolution.

June 14: Windows were shattered in Parliament House in Beirut as the result of a bomb explosion.

July 20: UNSCOP arrived in Beirut to hear testimony from representatives of the Arab states.

July 22: In Beirut, UNSCOP heard the Arab viewpoint on Palestine as given in a joint declaration of six Arab states read by the Lebanese foreign minister.

July 24: Dr. Victor Khuri, Minister to London, arrived in the U. S. to begin a tour of this country and Latin America.

## North Africa

The governmental reforms which had been in preparation for some time were finally

enacted during the summer months in all three of France's North African possessions. A series of *dahir*'s signed by the Sultan after considerable hesitation established in Morocco a government composed of Moroccan and French officials with the Grand Vizier exercising the functions of a premier. The reform thus abolished the division of the central administration into the *makhzen*, composed exclusively of the native viziers, and the French *directions générales*, formerly linked to the *makhzen* only by a liaison office. It also created in the French-directed departments the position of "Moroccan associates," who were to be members of the Council of Ministers and form a link between the French executives and the Moroccan personnel of the central administration. The power of the Resident-General was not appreciably diminished, but the creation of a Council of Ministers under the chairmanship of the Grand Vizier put a constitutional brake upon the theoretically absolute powers of the Sultan. In French circles this reform was hailed as a step toward a constitutional monarchy in Morocco. Nationalist North African groups, however, tended to regard it as a means of curtailing the influence of the Sultan, who recently had shown strong nationalist leanings. The aged Grand Vizier, by contrast, had the reputation of being friendly to France.

At the end of July the government of Tunisia was reformed so as to include an equal number of Tunisian ministers and French directors of central administrative offices; the Council of Ministers would consequently be composed of six Tunisian members as against four, as previously. The central administration of Tunisia had never been divided into two distinct branches to the extent that it was in Morocco, native and French executives always having been united in one Council of Ministers. The present reform showed a widening of the scope of the Tunisian section of this Council without, however, any appreciable diminution of actual French control.

In the early part of August the French Assembly passed, after a long and stormy debate, the new statute of Algeria, which, though falling far short of nationalist wishes,

nevertheless introduced important reforms in this oldest among French North African possessions. The outstanding change was the formation of an Algerian Assembly of 120 members, to be elected in equal numbers by two "colleges." In the first college the French element predominated, but there was to be a small number of Moslem voters. The second college was to be all Moslem. The Assembly was to have wide financial powers but fiscal initiative belonged equally to the Assembly and the Governor-General, who remained the representative of the French Government in Algeria and was responsible to Paris. He was to be assisted in the exercise of his functions by an advisory council of six members, of whom two would be chosen by him, two elected by the Algerian Assembly, and the fifth and sixth would be the president of the Assembly, and the president or vice-president of the Financial Commission, respectively.

Press dispatches from Paris stated that many of the French deputies were reluctant to vote for the statute, which they felt was conceived in haste and would satisfy none. The statute went further than the conservative French *colon* would want in giving the Algerian Moslems political rights, but was far behind the hopes even of the moderate nationalists, who had proposed an Algerian Republic within the framework of the French Union. Algeria remained closely tied to metropolitan France as a "group of departments possessing civil personality, financial autonomy, and having a special organization." Viewed all together, these French reforms, though introducing new elements of native participation in the government of French North Africa, did little to alter the basic structure of the three territories.

HERBERT J. LIEBESNY  
Foundation for Foreign Affairs

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 10:* General Juin, Resident-General, placed before the Sultan of Morocco French Government proposals for a revision of the Moroccan Government.

*June 11:* The French National Assembly's Commission on Overseas Territories approved a

report recommending greater participation by natives in the French colonial governments.

*June 12:* Mahdi Bennouna arrived in the United States as representative of the North African nationalist groups to set up an information office in New York.

*June 13:* It was reported from Paris that the French Cabinet was considering a dual French-Algerian government for Algeria, a proposal sponsored by Ferhat Abbas, Algerian Moslem political leader.

*June 25:* The Sultan of Morocco signed the ordinances providing for a revision of the Moroccan Government as outlined by the French Government. (*Le Monde*, July 6/7, 1947, page 2.)

*July 1:* A statement was made by Abd al-Karim to Reuters that he would be willing to fight France if it should ignore its international obligation, and that he would not abstain from political statements. (*Le Monde*, July 1, 1947, page 8.)

*July 18:* The Resident-General of Morocco arrived in Paris for French Government conferences on North African affairs.

*July 21-25:* A series of inter-Ministerial meetings was held in Paris on North African affairs. Those attending included M. Chataigneau, Governor-General of Algeria; General Juin, Resident-General of Morocco; and a representative of the French Resident-General in Tunisia. (*London Times*, July 26, 1947, page 3.)

*July 29:* A new cabinet took office in Tunisia:

Mustapha Kaak — Prime Minister, Justice

Sidi Abd al-Aziz Djait — Commerce

Sidi Ali Bou-Hageb — Public Health

Sidi El Adhari — Labor, Social Security

Sidi Bel-Khodja — Agriculture

Si Mohammed Salah M'Zali — (post not specified)

(*L'Orient* and *Le Monde*, July 29, 1947.)

*Aug. 4-6:* A general strike was held in Tunisia as ordered by the General Union of Tunisian Workers, which demanded a minimum wage of 6000 francs [about \$50] a month. On the first day of the strike a clash between troops and strikers at Sfax resulted in 19 killed and 54 wounded. (*London Times*, July 7, 1947, page 3.)

*Aug. 22:* The French National Assembly voted against a communist proposal to give Algeria the status of an associated territory within the French Union.

*Aug. 27:* The French National Assembly passed a statute creating a new form of government for Algeria.



## Palestine

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) left the United States in two groups, the first by air on June 10 via London, and the second on June 11 directly for Palestine, where they reunited on June 15. The first party, in its two-day stay at the British capital, found government officials and Zionists pessimistic and cynical about the committee's prospects.

The prevailing mood in Palestine was one of desperation, with tension rising abruptly on June 16, the day that UNSCOP began formal hearings. Relations between the committee and the Palestine Government were not improved by the latter's insistence on closed hearings as a security measure, and by its attempts to prevent committee members from making public statements. The Arab Higher Committee enforced a one-day general strike throughout the Arab community, while nationalists in Lebanon and Syria joined in a sympathy strike. Believing that UNSCOP's terms of reference precluded the possibility of a fair judgment and that its membership was weighted in the Zionists' favor, the Higher Committee remained firm in its decision to boycott the investigation. Jamal al-Husayni, its acting-chairman in Palestine, urged the Arabs to be polite to UNSCOP but to avoid political discussion altogether. Meanwhile, the Jewish community was outraged by the British military court's recommendation of the death sentence for the three members of the Irgun captured during the Acre Prison attack on May 4, an announcement which destroyed all hope of a temporary truce with the dissident Jewish terrorist groups. Moreover, the British request that the fifty-five United Nations take steps "to discourage illegal immigration" into Palestine during the inquiry, forwarded on May 29 to the member states through official UN channels, had already aroused the indignation of Zionists everywhere.

Faced by these conflicting emotional pressures, UNSCOP made every effort to persuade the Higher Committee to abandon its boycott. Chairman Sandstroem, in a

radio appeal on June 16, stressed that he and his colleagues had "come to Palestine with a completely open mind," that they represented "eleven different countries . . . , no one of which has any direct concern with the Palestine question," and that they were "impartial on this problem and [intended] to make an impartial report to the General Assembly." To provide for a cooling off period, UNSCOP then suspended formal hearings from June 18 to July 3, when it visited each district of the country. But all overtures to the Higher Committee, including one by King Abdallah of Transjordan, fell on deaf ears, the Arabs going so far as to refuse Jewish journalists and liaison officers permission to enter Arab public buildings, factories, and shrines.

During this fortnight relations between UNSCOP and the Palestine Government remained cool, especially after the committee had cautioned Secretary-General Lie on June 22 "as to the possible unfavorable repercussions" that might result from the execution of the three condemned Irgunists. But when hearings were resumed between July 4 and 17, the Government and the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem as well as various Jewish organizations and individuals testified, though little new light was shed. Indeed both groups on the whole merely brought up to date the evidence prepared some sixteen months earlier for the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. Chairman Sandstroem met secretly with the Irgun high command, as did on a separate occasion the representatives of Guatemala and Uruguay. By the close of the hearings in Palestine only three committee members had revealed their leanings—the two Latin American delegates in favor of the Jews, and the Indian delegate in favor of the Arabs. Before leaving Palestine on July 20 UNSCOP voted against a proposal to visit the illegal immigrants' camps in Cyprus, but heard the statement of a non-Jewish, American member of the crew of *Exodus 1947*, a vessel which contained the largest number of illegal immigrants ever carried on a single trip and which had been escorted into Haifa harbor on July 18 by British naval patrols.

Meanwhile, the member states of the

Arab League agreed to testify before UNSCOP at Beirut. The Lebanese Foreign Minister, Hamid Bey Franjiyah, read on July 22 a joint declaration on behalf of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen, warning that a pro-Jewish decision would mean war. Two days later similar views were voiced at Amman by King Abdallah and Samir Pasha al-Rifai, the Premier and Foreign Minister of Transjordan. The Arab League was invited to send a liaison officer to Geneva, where the committee and its staff reassembled on July 27 to sift the accumulated evidence and draw up recommendations. A subcommittee was designated on July 30 by a 6-to-4 vote to inspect the Jewish D.P. camps in Germany and Austria while the final report was being prepared. This inspection team carried out its survey between August 8 and 14.

J. C. HUREWITZ  
New York City

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

**June 3:** The Palestine Arab delegation to UN recommended that the Arab states boycott the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP).

**June 5:** President Truman issued a statement urging cessation of "activities which tend further to inflame the passions of the inhabitants of Palestine, to undermine law and order in Palestine, or to promote violence in that country." (Text in *New York Times*, June 6, 1947, page 1.)

The Stern Group claimed responsibility for explosive letters addressed to leading British Government officials in London.

**June 6:** It was announced that the Secretary-General of UN had forwarded to the United Nations a British Government appeal that all states prevent the departure from their frontiers of unauthorized emigrants to Palestine.

**June 9:** The Supreme Court of Palestine upheld the legality of the prohibition against transference of land to non-Arabs in certain districts of Palestine as stipulated in the White Paper of 1939.

Two British policemen were kidnaped from a swimming pool near Tel Aviv by armed Jews, allegedly members of Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL). They were released the next day.

**June 11:** Jamal al-Husayni, acting chairman of the Arab Higher Committee in Palestine, announced a complete Arab boycott, political and social, of UNSCOP.

The Palestine Government pardoned 32 members of Haganah from prison sentences imposed in 1942 for the illegal possession of arms.

**June 13:** The Arab Higher Committee gave official notice to UN of its intention to boycott UNSCOP.

The Palestine Government announced that 9,000 immigration certificates issued during the past six months had been distributed as follows:

- 4,125 — to Cyprus detainees
- 250 — to relatives of Jews who served in the British army
- 4,625 — to Jews in the British zone in Germany and European relatives of Palestine residents.

**June 14:** Emil Sandstroem, chairman of UNSCOP, arrived in Jerusalem.

**June 16:** UNSCOP held its first session in Jerusalem, receiving the testimony of the Palestine Government.

A British military court passed sentences on five Jewish prisoners held for participation in the May 4, 1947, Acre prison break. Jacob Weiss, Meir Nakar, and Absalom Habib were sentenced to death, and the other two were given prison terms of a minimum of 15 years.

The Arab Higher Committee and its supporters carried into effect a promised boycott of UNSCOP by holding a widespread one-day Arab strike.

**June 17:** UNSCOP began public hearings, with Moshe Shertok, Jewish Agency member, giving testimony.

**June 18:** Haganah announced it had prevented IZL from carrying out a plot to destroy Citrus House, British military headquarters in Tel Aviv.

**June 19:** UNSCOP visited Haifa, thus beginning a tour of Palestine which lasted until July 3.

**June 22:** UNSCOP issued a resolution expressing concern over the hanging of three Jewish youths sentenced on June 16.

**June 27:** Shaykh Hasan Abu al-Saud, exiled Arab aide to the Mufti who had been granted an amnesty in November 1946, returned to Palestine after an absence of more than nine years. The Mufti had appointed him a member of the Arab Higher Committee in January 1947.

**June 28:** Two British soldiers were killed and two wounded in Tel Aviv by terrorists who fired upon British soldiers standing in line at a theater.

June 28: IZL presented its case to UNSCOP.

June 29: UNSCOP voted 9-0, with two abstentions, in favor of issuing a reproof to the Zionist underground, declaring its acts constituted "flagrant disregard" of the appeal of UN for an interim truce in Palestine.

June 30: British troops off duty were ordered to remain in barracks as a result of the sporadic sniping which since June 28 had caused the deaths of four Britishers.

IZL testified before UNSCOP.

July 1: U. S. Secretary of State Marshall, at a conference with a group of congressmen, stated that there had been no change in U. S. policy toward Palestine.

July 4-17: UNSCOP held a series of open political hearings in Palestine.

July 6: More than 5,000 Arabs gathered at a Haifa meeting sponsored by the Arab Higher Committee for the sake of impressing on the Arab people the seriousness of the Palestine situation.

July 12: Two British sergeants were seized by IZL at Nathanya as hostages for the three members of IZL who had been sentenced to death on June 16.

July 13: Shabab al-Arab, the illegal Arab paramilitary organization, held a meeting in Jaffa under the sponsorship of the Arab Higher Committee.

July 14: Nathanya and four adjacent settlements were placed under martial law to facilitate the search for the two British army sergeants kidnapped July 12.

July 16: IZL road mine attacks on British military vehicles caused one death and injury to 15 or 16.

July 18: The *Exodus 1947* (formerly the *President Warfield*) arrived in Palestine with 4,550 unauthorized immigrants aboard.

In a series of Jewish underground attacks, one British soldier was killed and seven soldiers were injured.

July 19: The Jewish immigrants aboard the *Exodus 1947* were transferred to three British steamers and sent back to their port of embarkation in France.

July 20: UNSCOP arrived in Beirut, Lebanon, to hear testimony from representatives of the Arab states.

July 21: Haganah attacked a radar unit and signal station near Haifa.

July 22: In Beirut, UNSCOP heard the Arab viewpoint on Palestine as given in a joint declaration of six Arab states read by the Lebanese foreign minister.

July 23: The *Empire Lifeguard* was sunk while in

Haifa harbor by a mine exploding in its engine room.

UNSCOP concluded its sessions in Beirut.

July 24: Seven members of UNSCOP heard the testimony of Samir Pasha al-Rifai, Premier and Foreign Minister of Transjordan, in Amman.

July 25: The last contingent of UNSCOP left Lebanon for Geneva, Switzerland.

July 27: The military control of Nathanya was removed.

July 28: British naval forces escorted two ships, the *Louisiana* and *Bruna*, carrying 1,174 unauthorized immigrants, into the harbor at Haifa, where they were transferred to British ships and taken to Cyprus.

July 29: The three Jews sentenced to death June 16 for participation in the May 4 prison break at Acre were hanged.

The Jewish refugees of the *Exodus 1947*, transshipped from Palestine, arrived at a French port but refused to leave their ships.

July 30: IZL announced it had executed the two British sergeants held as hostages since July 12 for the IZL members hanged on July 29.

It was announced that since July 16 terrorist activity had been responsible for the deaths of 16 and injury to 92 persons.

In Geneva, UNSCOP voted 6-4 in favor of visiting D.P. camps in Germany and Austria.

July 31: The bodies of the two British sergeants hanged by IZL were found near Nathanya.

In Tel Aviv British troops and police fired indiscriminately on the populace, killing five Jews and wounding 15 others, to avenge the hanging of the two British sergeants.

Aug. 1: In Tel Aviv riots between British tommies and Jews attending the funeral procession of the five Jews slain the day before caused injury to 33 Jews.

Members of IZL made an unsuccessful attack on Royal Air Force billets in Jerusalem.

Aug. 5: Thirty-five leading Zionists were sent to Latrun detention camp for their alleged sympathy or contact with terrorists. They included outstanding Revisionist leaders and the mayors of Tel Aviv, Nathanya, and Ramat Gan.

Three British policemen were killed in Jerusalem while attempting to remove a bomb left in the Labor Department building.

Brit Trumpeldor, a Revisionist youth movement, was banned by the High Commissioner as a recruiting ground for dissident groups.

Aug. 9: A Cairo-Haifa train was derailed north of Lydda by a mine planted by IZL, causing the death of the engineer.

At least three more Revisionist leaders were taken by police in Tel Aviv.

*Aug. 10:* In the Gan Hawaii Café in Tel Aviv four Jews and one Arab were killed and 10 were wounded, allegedly by Arabs.

*Aug. 11:* Mahmud Labib, a former Egyptian army officer and a leader of the Cairo branch of the Ikhwan al-Muslimun, who had recently been appointed by the Mufti to unite the two illegal Arab para-military organizations, was ordered to leave Palestine within 48 hours.

*Aug. 12:* A Jew was killed by an Arab on the Jaffa-Tel Aviv border.

The Jewish Agency applied for the release from detention of Arieh Altman, chairman of the Revisionist Party, arrested Aug. 5.

Police headquarters in Jerusalem were heavily fired upon by terrorists.

*Aug. 13-14:* Arab-Jewish strife in Tel Aviv and Jaffa caused nine deaths and over 60 wounded.

*Aug. 15:* Haganah attack on the house of an orange grove worker near Tel Aviv, allegedly because it was a rendezvous for Arab gangsters, caused the deaths of 11 Arabs, including that of a mother and her four young children.

*Aug. 18:* Three more Revisionist leaders were arrested by British troops in Jerusalem.

*Aug. 20:* Terrorists fired on guards in an unsuccessful attack on the Criminal Investigation Department building in Jerusalem, currently used as a police billet.

Palestine police confiscated a Haganah arsenal in the Montefiore quarter of Jerusalem which was the largest cache of arms and ammunition yet discovered.

*Aug. 21:* Mahmud Labib returned to Cairo because his request for an extension of his visa had been refused.

*Aug. 22:* The three British ships carrying the Jewish refugees transhipped from the *Exodus 1947* departed from Port de Bouc, France, for Germany.

*Aug. 28:* Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, British High Commissioner in Palestine, arrived in London.

*Aug. 30:* A Palestine Government communiqué forbade the unauthorized wearing of uniforms, badges, and emblems.

*Aug. 31:* UNSCOP completed its report for the UN General Assembly. (Complete text in *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1947, pages 33-40.)

## Saudi Arabia

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 29:* It was reported that Saudi Arabia had requested a \$100,000,000 loan from the U. S.

to use in constructing a railway from Dhahran to Riyadh.

*July 10:* Saudi Arabia submitted to UN a request that the General Assembly include on its September agenda the termination of the British mandate over Palestine and the establishment of that country's independence. (*Palestine Affairs*, July 1947, page 79.)

*July 17:* Fuad Bey Hamza, recently appointed Minister of Development, announced that during the next four years Saudi Arabia planned to spend \$270,000,000 on domestic projects, including development of a port at Dammam, building of railroads, highways, and airfields, electrification and water supply projects, and erecting of schools and hospitals.

*Aug. 5:* It was reported that Saudi Arabia and the Sheikdom of Kuwait had agreed to share the income on any oil discovered in the neutral zone between their territories.

## Syria

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 4:* Fayiz al-Khuri was appointed Minister to the U. S., replacing Costi Zurayk.

*July 7:* Parliamentary elections were begun.

*July 15:* Fayiz al-Khuri presented his letters of credence to President Truman as Syrian Minister to the U. S.

*July 18:* Elections and runoffs were finished although complete returns from Jebel Druze were not available. (*Le Jour*, July 19, 1947, page 1.)

## Transjordan

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 2:* President İnönü of Turkey received Ziya al-Din al-Hamad, first Transjordan Minister to Turkey.

*June 5:* King Abdallah paid his annual devotional visit to the grave of his father in Jerusalem.

*June 10:* The Transjordan-Iraq Treaty of Brotherhood and Alliance became effective. (For text see page 449.)

*July 24:* Seven members of UNSCOP heard the testimony of Samir Pasha al-Rifai, Premier and Foreign Minister of Transjordan, in Amman.

*Aug. 3:* King Abdallah received a delegation representing displaced Moslems in Europe. It was reported that he had agreed tentatively to



allow 5,000 Moslem refugees to settle in the country.

*Aug. 18:* Andrei Gromyko, the Russian representative on the Security Council, vetoed the Transjordan request for membership in UN.

## Turkey

The opposition to Recep Peker's cabinet, which continued to develop during the summer, came from within his own Republican People's Party as much as from the minority Democratic Party; credit for concessions made to it, therefore, was claimed by both sides. Liberalization of the press and police laws, a redefining of *étatisme* (state control over the development and operation of industry), a revision of the electoral law, a retreat from the tendency to constitute the government party as the official party — all of these reforms were recognized in principle by those in authority but little was done to realize them.

The government's decision on July 3 to permit religious teaching in the schools could also be viewed primarily as a political move, however ideologically significant it might prove to be. The opposition Democratic Party, finding its following to be almost exclusively in the urban centers of western Turkey, sought to increase its support in the rural areas through appeal to the religious traditions of the peasantry. The first to propose a liberalization of the laws stripping school curricula of religious instruction, it struck a ready response which the government party was unable to ignore. At the same time, mindful of the obstacles which the Moslem religious institution had placed in the way of Turkey's evolution into a Western state, the government remained alert to a rebirth of the power of the Moslem clergy or to the manipulation of religious fanaticism for political ends.

## CHRONOLOGY

1947

*June 1:* Khedive Abbas Hilmi's son, Abd al-Munim, and his wife, Princess Neslisah (first member of the Ottoman royal family to return to Turkey), arrived in Istanbul for a visit.

*June 2:* The second issue of "Recovery Bonds" (TL 40,000,000) was placed on sale by the Ministry of Finance.

President İnönü received Ziya al-Din al-Hamad, the first Transjordan Minister to Turkey.

*June 4:* An American military mission headed by Gen. Oliver started a tour of Turkey.

Two Turkish subjects of Russian origin, Ivan Grigori and Mustafa Sagir, convicted of espionage on May 11, were hanged in the province of Erzerum.

*June 7:* The Press Department at Ankara ordered all Turkish papers to refrain from publishing news on the activities of the U. S. planning group then visiting Turkey.

*June 9:* Selim Sarper, Ambassador to Italy, was named permanent representative to UN.

*June 12:* The Iraqi Senate ratified the Turko-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship.

*June 13:* *Büyük Doğu* was suspended for four months for favoring a return of the Sultanate.

*June 14:* The trial of the Turkish Socialist Proletarian and Farmer's Party at Gaziantep was ended, the founders of the party branch there receiving a two-year prison sentence.

*June 18:* The Turkish Government signed an agreement with two U. S. corporations, Westinghouse Electric and J. G. White, for the construction of new airfields and the enlargement and modernization of old ones.

The National Assembly recessed until August 25.

*June 19:* The Pan American Clipper *America* arrived in Istanbul on its first west-east flight.

The par value of the Turkish lira was pegged by the International Monetary Fund at the ratio of 2.8 to the American dollar.

Edwin C. Wilson, U. S. Ambassador to Turkey, was nominated by President Truman to head the U. S. mission which was to supervise the grant to Turkey.

*June 28:* Şükrü Remer was appointed head of the Information Office in New York.

*June 31:* A Turko-Iraqi air agreement was signed.

*July 1:* The formation of a fifth Inspectorate General with headquarters at Adana was announced.

The Turko-French air agreement of October 12, 1946, was ratified.

*July 3:* The Ministry of Education announced that henceforth the teaching of religious subjects in Turkish schools would be permitted if formal application was made.

*July 6:* The press announced that Cevdet Atasagün, Director-General for Immigration Affairs, would go to Greece, Italy, and Germany to

study the immigration of Turkish Moslems into Turkey.

*July 10:* In a statement to *Ulus* Premier Peker accused the Democratic Party of trying to incite a revolt and to seize control of the government by a *coup d'état*.

*July 11:* The inauguration of a new Turkish political party, the *Türk Muhafazakar Partisi* (Turkish Conservative Party), led by Cevat Rifat Atilhan, was announced. The party supported the revival of religious instruction in the schools.

*July 12:* The U. S.-Turkish Aid Agreement was signed in Ankara by U. S. Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson and Foreign Minister Hasan Saka.

*July 21:* British naval units arrived in Istanbul. (London *Times*, July 22, 1947, page 4.)

*Aug. 3:* Maximos V, Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, returned to Istanbul after a four-months' visit to Greece.

*Aug. 9:* Four members of a Turkish military mission left for the U. S. to continue talks on the American aid program.

*Aug. 10:* Canada and Turkey announced that their respective legations would be raised to embassies. Muzaffer Göker was appointed Ambassador to Canada.

*Aug. 11:* The press announced that the Turkish Government and the British De Havilland Air-

craft Corp. had signed a contract by which Turkey would receive \$8,200,000 worth of Mosquito fighters.

*Aug. 19:* The U. S. and Turkey signed an agreement whereby Turkey would buy 10 American merchant ships for approximately \$7,400,000; the funds would come from the Turkish Treasury and not from the U. S. loan. (London *Times*, Aug. 20, 1947, page 3.)

*Aug. 20:* The sixteenth International Fair opened at Izmir with 400 foreign companies taking part.

*Aug. 25:* The Turkish National Assembly reconvened.

*Aug. 26:* Premier Recep Peker received a vote of confidence, 303 to 34, from the parliamentary group of the People's Party.

## Yemen

### CHRONOLOGY

1947

*July 14:* Prince Saif al-Islam Abdallah, son of the Imam, arrived in the U. S. on an official visit.

*July 16:* Prince Saif al-Islam conferred with President Truman.

*Aug. 18:* The Security Council voted to admit Yemen into UN.

### Correction

*The date of the Constitution of Transjordan, rendered on page 331 of the July 1947 issue as July 12, 1946, should read December 7, 1946.*

# DOCUMENTS

## TREATY OF BROTHERHOOD AND ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN AND THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ<sup>1</sup>

(Unofficial translation)

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN, and  
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF IRAQ

In view of the bonds of brotherhood and national unity that bind them together, and in order to protect the security of the two countries, and as dictated by the need for firm co-operation between them and complete mutual understanding on matters affecting the interest of the two kingdoms, and pursuant to the terms of Article IX of the Covenant of the League of Arab States, We have agreed to conclude a Treaty of Brotherhood and Alliance between them and have appointed for this purpose two plenipotentiary representatives:

For His Majesty the King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan:

His Excellency Samir Pasha al-Rifa'i,  
Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

For His Majesty the King of Iraq

His Excellency Doctor al-Sayyid Muhammad Fāḍil al-Jamālī, Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Who, after exchanging credentials and finding them in good and due form, have entered into an alliance and covenant on the basis of the following articles:

### ARTICLE I

Relations of eternal brotherhood and alliance shall exist between the Hashimite

Kingdom of Transjordan and the Kingdom of Iraq, and both High Contracting Parties shall consult with each other whenever circumstances demand fulfillment of the purposes intended by the preamble to this Treaty.

### ARTICLE II

Each of the High Contracting Parties pledges itself mutually not to come to any mutual understanding or agreement with a third party on any matter that may injure the interest of the other High Contracting Party or its kingdom or its interests or that may be of such nature as to expose the safety of its kingdom or its interests to dangers or injuries.

### ARTICLE III

The two High Contracting Parties pledge themselves to resolve by friendly negotiation all disagreements that may arise between them.

### ARTICLE IV

If any dispute between one of the High Contracting Parties and a third power leads to a situation that may result in the danger of occurrence of war, the two High Contracting Parties shall then unite their efforts to settle that dispute by peaceful means in accordance with the international pacts that may be applicable in that situation.

### ARTICLE V

(a) In the case of occurrence of aggression against one of the High Contracting Parties by a third power in spite of the efforts made in accordance with the terms of Article IV above, and likewise in the case of occurrence of a sudden aggression where there is insufficient time to apply the terms of the said Article IV, the High Contracting Parties must consult on the nature of the measures

<sup>1</sup> Ratifications of the Treaty were exchanged on June 10, 1947, and it became effective on that date. The Arabic text was published in the Transjordan *Official Gazette*, No. 909, June 10, 1947.

that must be taken to unite their efforts to repel and ward off that aggression.

(b) As acts of aggression shall be considered:

1. Declaration of war.
2. Occupation by the armed forces of a third power of the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties even without a declaration of war.

3. Attack by the land, sea, or air forces of a third power against the country of one of the High Contracting Parties or against its land, sea, or air forces even without a declaration of war.

4. Direct or indirect aid to or support of an aggressor.

(c) As acts of aggression shall not be considered:

1. Resort to the right of legitimate defense, i.e., resistance to any of the acts of aggression as defined above.

2. Action taken in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### ARTICLE VI

In the case of occurrence of disorders or insurrection in the country of one of the High Contracting Parties, each pledges itself mutually as follows:

(a) To take every possible measure or step:

1. To render it impossible for the rebels to utilize its territory against the interest of the High Contracting Party.

2. To prevent its subjects from participating in the disorders or insurrection or from helping or encouraging the rebels.

3. To prevent the direct or indirect arrival from its country of any kind of assistance for the rebels.

(b) If the rebels take refuge in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, this<sup>2</sup> High Contracting Party must disarm them and turn them over to the second party.

(c) If the situation requires the taking of joint measures or steps to put down the disorders or rebellion, the High Contracting Parties shall consult on the method of mutual assistance that should be followed for this purpose.

#### ARTICLE VII

The High Contracting Parties shall cooperate in unifying military techniques in their countries by an exchange of military missions to learn the techniques followed in the two kingdoms and to utilize military establishments and to train therein.

#### ARTICLE VIII

Diplomatic and consular representatives of either High Contracting Party may assume the representation of the interests of the other High Contracting Party, whenever that is requested in a foreign country wherein that party does not have representatives.

Nothing in this is to be construed as affecting in any way whatsoever the right of that party to appoint independent representatives if it so desires.

#### ARTICLE IX

Special permanent committees possessing executive power shall be appointed who shall consist of representatives of the two kingdoms and who shall be competent to implement and execute practical mutual assistance between the High Contracting Parties in all the matters stipulated in Article II of the Covenant of the League of Arab States as well as to carry out the requirements of the provisions of Articles V, VI, and VII of this Treaty.

#### ARTICLE X

Nothing in this Treaty shall violate the rights and obligations arising from the treaties made with any other power by either of the High Contracting Parties.

#### ARTICLE XI

This Treaty shall be considered to be in force from the date of exchange of the documents of ratification.

#### ARTICLE XII

This Treaty shall be in force and considered valid for a period of ten years from the date of its coming into effect. And if one of the High Contracting Parties does not notify

<sup>2</sup> Text reads: "the other."



the other of its desire to terminate it one year before the date of its expiration, it shall be considered as automatically renewed for other periods of five years each. Either High Contracting Party may, at the end of the first period or at the end of any of the subsequent periods of renewal, request re-examination and modification of this Treaty with a view to increasing the mutual assistance and to strengthening the alliance beyond what is stipulated therein.

22nd of Jumādā al-ūlā  
[April 14, 1947]

# INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 1947 (10 & 11 Geo. 6. Ch. 30)

*An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions.*  
[18th July 1947.]

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. (1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

(2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as "the new Dominions," and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as "the appointed day."

2. (1) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty, which, immediately before the appointed day, were

included in British India except the territories which, under subsection (2) of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be—

(a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections;

(b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan; and

(c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.

(3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so, however, that—

(a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in subsection (1) or, as the case may be, subsection (2), of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion; and

(b) no area which forms part of the territories specified in the said subsection (1) or, as the case may be, the said subsection (2), or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

(4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

3. (1) As from the appointed day—

(a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

(2) If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the district of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

(3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the Province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined —

(a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the Assam District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and

(c) in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the District of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.

(4) In this section, the expression "award" means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission's proceedings.

4. (1) As from the appointed day —

(a) the Province of the Punjab, as

constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted two new Provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

(2) The boundaries of the said new Provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined —

(a) the Districts specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new Province of West Punjab; and

(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Punjab.

(3) In this section, the expression "award," means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission's proceedings.

5. For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes of the government of the Dominion:

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

6. (1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and

the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

(3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

(4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

(6) The power referred to in subsection (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

**7. (1) As from the appointed day —**

(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India;

(b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers

thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; and

(c) there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise:

Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this subsection, effect shall, as nearly as may be continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

(2) The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words "Indiæ Imperator" and the words "Emperor of India" and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of His Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

8. (1) In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under subsection (1) of this section, each

of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935; and the provisions of that Act, and of the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section, have effect accordingly:

Provided that—

(a) the said provisions shall apply separately in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;

(b) nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the appointed day any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any Province or other part thereof;

(c) so much of the said provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgment as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day;

(d) as from the appointed day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder; and

(e) the powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under subsection (1) of this section.

(3) Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by subsection (2) of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the power of the legis-

lature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of subsection (1) of this section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future the powers of that Legislature.

9. (1) The Governor-General shall by order make such provision as appears to him to be necessary or expedient—

(a) for bringing the provisions of this Act into effective operation;

(b) for dividing between the new Dominions, and between the new Provinces to be constituted under this Act, the powers, rights, property, duties and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council or, as the case may be, of the relevant Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist;

(c) for making omissions from, additions to, and adaptations and modifications of, the Government of India Act, 1935, and the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, in their application to the separate new Dominions;

(d) for removing difficulties arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of this Act;

(e) for authorising the carrying on of the business of the Governor-General in Council between the passing of this Act and the appointed day otherwise than in accordance with the provisions in that behalf of the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935;

(f) for enabling agreements to be entered into, and other acts done, on behalf of either of the new Dominions before the appointed day;

(g) for authorising the continued carrying on for the time being on behalf of the new Dominions, or on behalf of any two or more of the said new Provinces, of services and activities previously carried on on behalf of British India as a whole or on behalf of the former Provinces which those new Provinces represent;

(h) for regulating the monetary system and any matters pertaining to the Reserve Bank of India; and



(i) so far as it appears necessary or expedient in connection with any of the matters aforesaid, for varying the constitution, powers or jurisdiction of any legislature, court or other authority in the new Dominions and creating new legislatures, courts or other authorities therein.

(2) The powers conferred by this section on the Governor-General shall, in relation to their respective Provinces, be exercisable also by the Governors of the Provinces which, under this Act, are to cease to exist; and those powers shall, for the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1935, be deemed to be matters as respects which the Governors are, under that Act, to exercise their individual judgment.

(3) This section shall be deemed to have had effect as from the third day of June, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, and any order of the Governor-General or any Governor made on or after that date as to any matter shall have effect accordingly, and any order made under this section may be made so as to be retrospective to any date not earlier than the said third day of June:

Provided that no person shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence by reason of so much of any such order as makes any provision thereof retrospective to any date before the making thereof.

(4) Any orders made under this section, whether before or after the appointed day, shall have effect —

(a) up to the appointed day, in British India;

(b) on and after the appointed day, in the new Dominion or Dominions concerned; and

(c) outside British India, or as the case may be, outside the new Dominion or Dominions concerned, to such extent, whether before, on or after the appointed day, as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned would have on or after the appointed day, but shall, in the case of each of the Dominions, be subject to the same powers of repeal and amendment as laws of the Legislature of that Dominion.

(5) No order shall be made under this section, by the Governor of any Province,

after the appointed day, or, by the Governor-General, after the thirty-first day of March, nineteen hundred and forty-eight, or such earlier date as may be determined, in the case of either Dominion, by any law of the Legislature of that Dominion.

(6) If it appears that a part of the Province of Assam is, on the appointed day, to become part of the new Province of East Bengal, the preceding provisions of this section shall have effect as if, under this Act, the Province of Assam was to cease to exist on the appointed day and be reconstituted on that day as a new Province.

10. (1) The provisions of this Act keeping in force provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, shall not continue in force the provisions of that Act relating to appointments to the civil services of, and civil posts under, the Crown in India by the Secretary of State, or the provisions of that Act relating to the reservation of posts.

(2) Every person who —

(a) having been appointed by the Secretary of State, or Secretary of State in Council, to a civil service of the Crown in India continues on and after the appointed day to serve under the Government of either of the new Dominions or of any Province or part thereof; or

(b) having been appointed by His Majesty before the appointed day to be a judge of the Federal Court or of any court which is a High Court within the meaning of the Government of India Act, 1935, continues on and after the appointed day to serve as a judge in either of the new Dominions,

shall be entitled to receive from the Governments of the Dominions and Provinces or parts which he is from time to time serving or, as the case may be, which are served by the courts in which he is from time to time a judge, the same conditions of service as respects remuneration, leave and pension, and the same rights as respects disciplinary matters or, as the case may be, as respects the tenure of his office, or rights as similar thereto as changed circumstances may permit, as that person was entitled to immediately before the appointed day.

(3) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as enabling the rights and liabilities of any person with respect to the family pension funds vested in Commissioners under section two hundred and seventy-three of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be governed otherwise than by Orders in Council made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by His Majesty in Council and rules made (whether before or after the passing of this Act or the appointed day) by a Secretary of State or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946.

11. (1) The orders to be made by the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall make provision for the division of the Indian armed forces of His Majesty between the new Dominions, and for the command and governance of those forces until the division is completed.

(2) As from the appointed day, while any member of His Majesty's forces, other than His Majesty's Indian forces, is attached to or serving with any of His Majesty's Indian forces —

(a) he shall, subject to any provision to the contrary made by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion or Dominions concerned or by any order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act, have, in relation to the Indian forces in question, the powers of command and punishment appropriate to his rank and functions; but

(b) nothing in any enactment in force at the date of the passing of this Act shall render him subject in any way to the law governing the Indian forces in question.

12. (1) Nothing in this Act affects the jurisdiction or authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, or of the Admiralty, the Army Council, or the Air Council or of any other United Kingdom authority, in relation to any of His Majesty's forces which may, on or after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions or elsewhere in the territories which, before the

appointed day, were included in India, not being Indian forces.

(2) In its application in relation to His Majesty's military forces, other than Indian forces, the Army Act shall have effect on or after the appointed day —

(a) as if His Majesty's Indian forces were not included in the expressions "the forces," "His Majesty's forces" and "the regular forces"; and

(b) subject to the further modifications specified in Parts I and II of the Third Schedule to this Act.

(3) Subject to the provisions of subsection (2) of this section, and to any provisions of any law of the Legislature of the Dominion concerned, all civil authorities in the new Dominions, and, subject as aforesaid and subject also to the provisions of the last preceding section, all service authorities in the new Dominions, shall, in those Dominions and in the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day, perform in relation to His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces, the same functions as were, before the appointed day, performed by them, or by the authorities corresponding to them, whether by virtue of the Army Act or otherwise, and the matters for which provision is to be made by orders of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act shall include the facilitating of the withdrawal from the new Dominions and other territories aforesaid of His Majesty's military forces, not being Indian forces.

(4) The provisions of subsections (2) and (3) of this section shall apply in relation to the air forces of His Majesty, not being Indian air forces, as they apply in relation to His Majesty's military forces, subject, however, to the necessary adaptations, and, in particular, as if —

(a) for the references to the Army Act there were substituted references to the Air Force Act; and

(b) for the reference to Part II of the Third Schedule to this Act there were substituted a reference to Part III of that Schedule.

13. (1) In the application of the Naval

Discipline Act to His Majesty's naval forces, other than Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall not, as from the appointed day, include references to His Majesty's Indian navy or the ships thereof.

(2) In the application of the Naval Discipline Act by virtue of any law made in India before the appointed day to Indian naval forces, references to His Majesty's navy and His Majesty's ships shall, as from the appointed day, be deemed to be, and to be only, references to His Majesty's Indian navy and the ships thereof.

(3) In section ninety B of the Naval Discipline Act (which, in certain cases, subjects officers and men of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to the law and customs of the ships and naval forces of other parts of His Majesty's dominions) the words "or of India" shall be repealed as from the appointed day, wherever those words occur.

14. (1) A Secretary of State, or such other Minister of the Crown as may be designated in that behalf by Order in Council under the Ministers of the Crown (Transfer of Functions) Act, 1946, is hereby authorised to continue for the time being the performance, on behalf of whatever government or governments may be concerned, of functions as to the making of payments and other matters similar to the functions which, up to the appointed day, the Secretary of State was performing on behalf of governments constituted or continued under the Government of India Act, 1935.

(2) The functions referred to in subsection (1) of this section include functions as respects the management of, and the making of payments in respect of, government debt, and any enactments relating to such debt shall have effect accordingly:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing in force so much of any enactment as empowers the Secretary of State to contract sterling loans on behalf of any such Government as aforesaid or as applying to the Government of either of the new Dominions the prohibition imposed on the Governor-General in Council by section three hundred and fifteen of the

Government of India Act, 1935, as respects the contracting of sterling loans.

(3) As from the appointed day, there shall not be any such advisers of the Secretary of State as are provided for by section two hundred and seventy-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935, and that section, and any provisions of that Act which require the Secretary of State to obtain the concurrence of his advisers, are hereby repealed as from that day.

(4) The Auditor of Indian Home Accounts is hereby authorised to continue for the time being to exercise his functions as respects the accounts of the Secretary of State or any such other Minister of the Crown as is mentioned in subsection (1) of this section, both in respect of activities before, and in respect of activities after, the appointed day, in the same manner, as nearly as may be as he would have done if this Act had not passed.

15. (1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, and, in particular, notwithstanding any of the provisions of the last preceding section, any provision of any enactment which, but for the passing of this Act, would authorise legal proceedings to be taken, in India or elsewhere, by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India or any part of India shall cease to have effect on the appointed day, and any legal proceedings pending by virtue of any such provision on the appointed day shall, by virtue of this Act, abate on the appointed day, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this subsection, any legal proceedings which, but for the passing of this Act, could have been brought by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any right or liability of India, or any part of India, shall instead be brought—

(a) in the case of proceedings in the United Kingdom, by or against the High Commissioner;

(b) in the case of other proceedings, by or against such person as may be designated by order of the Governor-General under the preceding provisions of this Act or



otherwise by the law of the new Dominion concerned,

and any legal proceedings by or against the Secretary of State in respect of any such right or liability as aforesaid which are pending immediately before the appointed day shall be continued by or against the High Commissioner or, as the case may be, the person designated as aforesaid:

Provided that, at any time after the appointed day, the right conferred by this subsection to bring or continue proceedings may, whether the proceedings are by, or are against, the High Commissioner or person designated as aforesaid, be withdrawn by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions so far as that Dominion is concerned, and any such law may operate as respects proceedings pending at the date of the passing of the law.

(3) In this section, the expression "the High Commissioner" means, in relation to each of the new Dominions, any such officer as may for the time being be authorised to perform in the United Kingdom, in relation to that Dominion, functions similar to those performed before the appointed day, in relation to the Governor-General in Council, by the High Commissioner referred to in section three hundred and two of the Government of India Act, 1935; and any legal proceedings which, immediately before the appointed day, are the subject of an appeal to His Majesty in Council, or of a petition for special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council, shall be treated for the purposes of this section as legal proceedings pending in the United Kingdom.

16. (1) Subsections (2) to (4) of section two hundred and eighty-eight of the Government of India Act, 1935 (which confer on His Majesty power to make by Order in Council provision for the government of Aden) shall cease to have effect and the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, (which authorise His Majesty to make laws and establish institutions for British Settlements as defined in those Acts) shall apply in relation to Aden as if it were a British Settlement as so defined.

(2) Notwithstanding the repeal of the

said subsections (2) to (4), the Orders in Council in force thereunder at the date of the passing of this Act shall continue in force, but the said Orders in Council, any other Orders in Council made under the Government of India Act, 1935, in so far as they apply to Aden, and any enactments applied to Aden or amended in relation to Aden by any such Orders in Council as aforesaid, may be repealed, revoked or amended under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945.

(3) Unless and until provision to the contrary is made as respects Aden under the powers of the British Settlements Acts, 1887 and 1945, or, as respects the new Dominion in question, by a law of the Legislature of that Dominion, the provisions of the said Orders in Council and enactments relating to appeals from any courts in Aden to any courts which will, after the appointed day, be in either of the new Dominions, shall continue in force in their application both to Aden and to the Dominion in question, and the last mentioned courts shall exercise their jurisdiction accordingly.

17. (1) No court in either of the new Dominions shall, by virtue of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Acts, 1926 and 1940, have jurisdiction in or in relation to any proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage, unless those proceedings were instituted before the appointed day, but, save as aforesaid and subject to any provision to the contrary which may hereafter be made by any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by any law of the Legislature of the new Dominion concerned, all courts in the new Dominions shall have the same jurisdiction under the said Acts as they would have had if this Act had not been passed.

(2) Any rules made on or after the appointed day under subsection (4) of section one of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, for a court in either of the new Dominions shall, instead of being made by the Secretary of State with the concurrence of the Lord Chancellor, be made by such authority as may be determined by the law of the Dominion concerned,



and so much of the said subsection and of any rules in force thereunder immediately before the appointed day as require the approval of the Lord Chancellor to the nomination for any purpose of any judges of any such court shall cease to have effect.

(3) The reference in subsection (1) of this section to proceedings for a decree for the dissolution of a marriage include references to proceedings for such a decree of presumption of death and dissolution of a marriage as is authorised by section eight of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1937.

(4) Nothing in this section affects any court outside the new Dominions, and the power conferred by section two of the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926, to apply certain provisions of that Act to other parts of His Majesty's dominions as they apply to India shall be deemed to be power to apply those provisions as they would have applied to India if this Act had not passed.

18. (1) In so far as any Act of Parliament, Order in Council, order, rule, regulation or other instrument passed or made before the appointed day operates otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions, references therein to India or British India, however worded and whether by name or not, shall, in so far as the context permits and except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide, be construed as, or as including, references to the new Dominions, taken together, or taken separately, according as the circumstances and subject matter may require:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as continuing in operation any provision in so far as the continuance thereof as adapted by this subsection is inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Act other than this section.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (1) of this section and to any other express provision of this Act, the Orders in Council made under subsection (5) of section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935, for adapting and modifying Acts of Parliament shall, except so far as Parliament may hereafter otherwise provide,

continue in force in relation to all Acts in so far as they operate otherwise than as part of the law of British India or the new Dominions.

(3) Save as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, the law of British India and of the several parts thereof existing immediately before the appointed day shall, so far as applicable and with the necessary adaptations, continue as the law of each of the new Dominions and the several parts thereof until other provision is made by laws of the Legislature of the Dominion in question or by any other Legislature or other authority having power in that behalf.

(4) It is hereby declared that the Instruments of Instructions issued before the passing of this Act by His Majesty to the Governor-General and the Governors of Provinces lapse as from the appointed day, and nothing in this Act shall be construed as continuing in force any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, relating to such Instruments of Instructions.

(5) As from the appointed day, so much of any enactment as requires the approval of His Majesty in Council to any rules of court shall not apply to any court in either of the new Dominions.

19. (1) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done on or after the appointed day, be construed —

(a) where the order or other act concerns one only of the new Dominions, as references to the Governor-General of that Dominion;

(b) where the order or other act concerns both of the new Dominions and the same person is the Governor-General of both those Dominions, as references to that person; and

(c) in any other case, as references to the Governors-General of the new Dominions, acting jointly.

(2) References in this Act to the Governor-General shall, in relation to any order to be made or other act done before the appointed day, be construed as references to the Governor-General of India within the meaning of the Government of India Act,

1935, and so much of that or any other Act as requires references to the Governor-General to be construed as references to the Governor-General in Council shall not apply to references to the Governor-General in this Act.

(3) References in this Act to the Constituent Assembly of a Dominion shall be construed as references —

(a) in relation to India, to the Constituent Assembly, the first sitting whereof was held on the ninth day of December, nineteen hundred and forty-six, modified —

(i) by the exclusion of the members representing Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and British Baluchistan; and

(ii) should it appear that the North West Frontier Province will form part of Pakistan, by the exclusion of the members representing that Province; and

(iii) by the inclusion of members representing West Bengal and East Punjab; and

(iv) should it appear that, on the appointed day, a part of the Province of Assam is to form part of the new Province of East Bengal, by the exclusion of the members theretofore representing the Province of Assam and the inclusion of members chosen to represent the remainder of that Province;

(b) in relation to Pakistan, to the Assembly set up or about to be set up at the date of the passing of this Act under the authority of the Governor-General as the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan:

Provided that nothing in this subsection shall be construed as affecting the extent to which representatives of the Indian States take part in either of the said Assemblies, or as preventing the filling of casual vacancies in the said Assemblies, or as preventing the participation in either of the said Assemblies, in accordance with such arrangements as may be made in that behalf, of representatives of the tribal areas on the borders of the Dominion for which that Assembly sits, and the powers of the said Assemblies shall extend and be deemed always to have extended to the making of provision for the matters specified in this proviso.

(4) In this Act, except so far as the context otherwise requires —

references to the Government of

India Act, 1935, include references to any enactments amending or supplementing that Act, and, in particular, references to the India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946;

"India," where the reference is to a state of affairs existing before the appointed day or which would have existed but for the passing of this Act, has the meaning assigned to it by section three hundred and eleven of the Government of India Act, 1935;

"Indian forces" includes all His Majesty's Indian forces existing before the appointed day and also any forces of either of the new Dominions;

"pension" means, in relation to any person, a pension whether contributory or not, of any kind whatsoever payable to or in respect of that person, and includes retired pay so payable, a gratuity so payable and any sum or sums so payable by way of the return, with or without interest thereon or other additions thereto, of subscriptions to a provident fund;

"Province" means a Governor's Province;

"remuneration" includes leave pay, allowances and the cost of any privileges or facilities provided in kind.

(5) Any power conferred by this Act to make any order includes power to revoke or vary any order previously made in the exercise of that power.

20. This Act may be cited as the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

## SCHEDULES.

### FIRST SCHEDULE.

#### BENGAL DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF EAST BENGAL.

In the Chittagong Division, the districts of Chittagong, Naokhali and Tippera.  
In the Dacca Division, the districts of Bakarganj, Dacca, Faridpur and Mymensingh.  
In the Presidency Division, the districts of Jessore, Murshidabad and Nadia.  
In the Rajshahi Division, the districts of Bogra, Dinajpur, Malda, Pabna, Rajshahi and Rangpur.

## SECOND SCHEDULE.

DISTRICTS PROVISIONALLY INCLUDED  
IN THE NEW PROVINCE OF WEST  
PUNJAB.

In the Lahore Division, the districts of Gujranwala, Gurdaspur, Lahore, Sheikhupura and Sialkot.

In the Rawalpindi Division, the districts of Attock, Gujrat, Jhelum, Mianwali, Rawalpindi and Shahpur.

In the Multan Division, the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh.

## THIRD SCHEDULE.

MODIFICATIONS OF ARMY ACT AND AIR  
FORCE ACT IN RELATION TO BRITISH  
FORCES.

## PART I.

MODIFICATIONS OF ARMY ACT APPLICABLE ALSO  
TO AIR FORCE ACT.

1. The proviso to section forty-one (which limits the jurisdiction of courts martial) shall not apply to offences committed in either of the new Dominions or in any of the other territories which were included in India before the appointed day.

2. In section forty-three (which relates to complaints), the words "with the approval of the Governor-General of India in Council" shall be omitted.

3. In subsections (8) and (9) of section fifty-four (which, amongst other things, require certain sentences to be confirmed by the Governor-General in Council), the words "India or," the words "by the Governor-General, or, as the case may be" and the words "in India, by the Governor-General, or, if he has been tried" shall be omitted.

4. In subsection (3) of section seventy-three (which provides for the nomination of officers with power to dispense with courts martial for desertion and fraudulent enlistment) the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted.

5. The powers conferred by subsection (5) of section one hundred and thirty (which provides for the removal of insane persons) shall not be exercised except with the consent of the officer commanding the forces in the new Dominions.

6. In subsection (2) of section one hundred and thirty-two (which relates to rules regulating service prisons and detention barracks) the words "and in India for the Governor-General" and the words "the Governor-General" shall be omitted

except as respects rules made before the appointed day.

7. In the cases specified in subsection (1) of section one hundred and thirty-four, inquests shall be held in all cases in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of that section.

8. In section one hundred and thirty-six (which relates to deductions from pay), in subsection (1) the words "India or" and the words "being in the case of India a law of the Indian legislature," and the whole of subsection (2), shall be omitted.

9. In paragraph (4) of section one hundred and thirty-seven (which relates to penal stoppages from the ordinary pay of officers), the words "or in the case of officers serving in India, the Governor-General" the words "India or" and the words "for India or, as the case may be" shall be omitted.

10. In paragraph (12) of section one hundred and seventy-five and paragraph (11) of section one hundred and seventy-six (which apply the Act to certain members of His Majesty's Indian Forces and to certain other persons) the word "India" shall be omitted wherever it occurs.

11. In subsection (1) of section one hundred and eighty (which provides for the punishment of misconduct by civilians in relation to courts martial) the words "India or" shall be omitted wherever they occur.

12. In the provisions of section one hundred and eighty-three relating to the reduction in rank of non-commissioned officers, the words "with the approval of the Governor-General" shall be omitted in both places where they occur.

## PART II.

## MODIFICATIONS OF ARMY ACT.

Section 184B (which regulates relations with the Indian Air Force) shall be omitted.

## PART III.

## MODIFICATIONS OF AIR FORCE ACT.

1. In section 179D (which relates to the attachment of officers and airmen to Indian and Burma Air Forces), the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be," and the words "India or," wherever those words occur, shall be omitted.

2. In section 184B (which regulates relations with Indian and Burma Air Forces) the words "India or" and the words "by the Air Council and the Governor-General of India or, as the case may be," shall be omitted.

3. Sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph (4) of section one hundred and ninety (which provides that officers of His Majesty's Indian Air Force are to be officers within the meaning of the Act) shall be omitted.

# REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

## GENERAL

*Muslim Contribution to Geography*, by Nafis Ahmad. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, 1947. ix + 180 pages. Rs. 5.

One of the most distinctive and useful contributions to the history of science is the work of the Moslem geographers. The original motivation, as is the general rule in Islam, was purely practical. The enormous transportation and communication problems attendant upon the expansion and consolidation of the greatest empire in Islam, the Abbasid (750-1258 A.D.), and the need and the desire to know more about its outlying territories and people were factors responsible for most of the early geographical works. Studies of routes, regional and topographic monographs, and literary geographies issued freely from the pens of state officials, businessmen, and other articulate travelers. The institution of the Meccan pilgrimage — it being the duty of every Moslem to undertake it at least once in his lifetime — and the constant streaming of scholars and students to the East seeking inspiration and advanced instruction at the great centers of learning contributed more writers and at the same time made for a larger reading public of travel literature than would otherwise have been the case. The resultant mass of information became both inspiration and source material for later scholars and scientists who, building on the theory and practice of the Greek and Roman geographers as well as on their own original researches, made a contribution to descriptive geography, cartography, geodesy, and the ancillary sciences of mathematics, physics, and astronomy that must be truly astounding to those first making its acquaintance.

A popular account of this achievement together with some attempt at its evaluation,

chiefly by a comparison with the contemporary European geographical knowledge, was the task to which the author of *Muslim Contribution to Geography* set himself. Given the limitation of his aim, Nafis Ahmad, who is Professor of Geography in Islamia College in Calcutta, has in general done a good job. He has shown himself to be familiar with both the primary and secondary sources on the subject, and these are conveniently recapitulated at the end of the book. Professor Ahmad regrettably has failed to emphasize and specify the important tasks remaining, nor has he broken any new ground or made fresh interpretations (not essential in a work of popularization). Nevertheless, the data are well organized and presented in a pleasant if somewhat naive style. The author has also displayed the good judgment to keep technical and other detail within proper proportions so that non-geographers can read the book with easy comprehension.

In view of its merits, it is a pity to find the book marred by some repetitiousness and by an unusually large number of errors of grammar, transliteration, punctuation, and spelling, as well as occasionally baffling sentences where an obvious zest to score a point was not matched by an adequate command of English. Another irritant is the inconsistency of method in rendering dates; sometimes the Moslem date, sometimes the Christian, and all too rarely, as should have been the invariable practice, both are given. A further defect, and one that is not uncommon among apologists, is an excessively belligerent tone that generally weakens rather than strengthens the desired effect. Nevertheless, it is a tribute both to the author and to the inherent interest of the subject matter that the faults noted do not seriously lessen the value or readability of the book, which is short enough to be gone through carefully in a single evening. It can



be recommended as rewarding reading not only to geographers, historians, and students of the history of science, but to all who are genuinely striving to understand the capacities and potentialities of modern Islam, which, in spite of contrary surface appearances, is much like the Islam of yesterday.

One cannot help regretting that in the mid-twentieth century it is still considered necessary to publish apologia for the contributions of Islamic civilization. Such popularized justifications and defensive arguments as are frequently published or delivered from the lecture platform may serve a temporarily useful purpose in impressing and coaxing rapturous looks from the ignorant, though not from the hopelessly prejudiced, for those who are convinced that nothing worthwhile has emerged or ever will emerge from the Islamic East will surely remain unaffected.

Apologia on such topics can be truly fruitful only when presented for the consideration of otherwise well-informed groups, when they are scholarly productions, and when their authors spare no effort in describing and pointing up the work yet to be done — and the values to be derived therefrom — in the form of critical text editions, translations, commentaries, and syntheses. The hope is that in this country, at least, some of the science and humanities foundations, learned societies, universities, and research institutes eventually may be induced to make funds available to cover the costs of such research and publication.

Examination of the new texts and translations thus produced, not to mention study of the old ones, would be immensely profitable for many classes of students — historians, anthropologists, and, in particular, geographers. Research workers of more than one agency of this and other governments, for example, when seeking descriptive and cartographic data on many areas of Asia and Africa, have had to turn to the writings of the Moslem geographers, for the facts contained therein often cannot be found elsewhere, and are surprisingly accurate and reliable. The great deterrent to their use is, happily, no longer prejudice, but the fact that most of these writings are still untranslated. There are a number of scholars here

and abroad who are well equipped to do the necessary work. They await only material assistance. Let us hope that it will not be long in coming.

SIDNEY GLAZER  
Library of Congress

*A Foreign Policy for the United States*, ed. by Quincy Wright. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947. x + 405 pages. \$4.50.

The lectures and discussions of the Twenty-second Institute under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, which took place at the University of Chicago, July 15-19, 1946, are presented in this volume. Approximately eight per cent of the space is devoted to the Near East, which a year ago was not so obviously an important sector of the American foreign policy front as it is today. Professor John A. Wilson of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute introduces the subject with a brief but admirably clear-headed and well-balanced statement which analyzes the conflicts both of local nationalities with outside powers and of outside great powers with one another. In discussing the position of the United States in relation to these conflicts he points out that we have seemed to be following incompatible and inconsistent lines of policy in the Near East. On the one hand we have given general support to British efforts to maintain the *status quo* against Soviet attempts to change it to Russia's advantage. On the other hand we have harrassed Britain by irresponsible support of Zionist ambitions which can be realized only in despite of Arab claims to self-determination based on the Wilsonian principle and at the cost of both British and American standing with the members of the Arab League.

Professor Wilson concludes that the United States should formulate its policy toward the Near East in a public statement. This should make clear that our attitude is evolutionary rather than revolutionary in respect to changes in the *status quo*; it should define exactly what we mean by "self-determination," whether the principle should be applied generally or in some specifically limited way;

it should acknowledge frankly our interest in Arabian oil and other economic objectives; and finally, it should distill the hypocrisy out of our attitude toward Palestine, recognizing that Zionism cannot solve the problem of Jewish refugees from Europe and that Britain cannot solve the problem of Zionism without financial and perhaps military aid from the United States.

The general discussion which followed Professor Wilson's seven-page statement fills twenty-five pages and centers chiefly on Palestine without adding any new or startling thoughts. Commentators seem to have regarded this problem and that of Arabian oil, which drew some of their attention, as not being urgently in need of solution. The tone of the discussion was that the United States lacked vitally important interests in the Near East and would be well advised to avoid entanglement in its confused affairs. The magnitude of Russian ambitions in the area and the amount of pressure behind them received scant attention.

Since July 1946 events have developed with such rapidity and we are now so deeply involved in Near Eastern, especially Turkish, affairs that much of the discussion in this book seems dated and unrealistic. Our government has made clear its position on the first of the matters which Professor Wilson wished to have clarified and has shown its determination to support the territorial *status quo*. But the world is still waiting for our definition of self-determination, for announcement regarding the extent to which our interest in Arabian oil is official, and for some abatement of our stubborn hypocrisy regarding the problem of Palestine's future.

WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR.  
Princeton University

*Report of the Interdepartmental Commission of Enquiry on Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African Studies.* London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1947. 192 pages.

In December 1944 Anthony Eden, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, appointed a group of people under the chairmanship of the Earl of Scarbrough "to ex-

amine the facilities offered by the universities and other educational institutions in Great Britain for the study of Oriental, Slavonic, East European and African languages and culture, to consider what advantage is being taken of these facilities and to formulate recommendations for their improvement."

This booklet is the result of their investigations. Its frankness in bringing to the fore the deficiencies of these studies in Britain calls to mind the poor condition of Near and Middle Eastern, not to mention African, studies in this country, for America is certainly behind Britain in this regard. The authors go on to emphasize the national importance of these studies for Britain. They are no less important for the United States, now assuming a greater interest in the Middle East than ever before.

The admonitions of the report should ring like clarions to the leaders in American Oriental studies as well as to the officials of our government: "Though the direct influence learning can exercise on political relations is not great, nevertheless a nation which does not possess a sound foundation of scholarship is ill-equipped to deal with world affairs, for scholarship is the source from which a knowledge of other countries and an interest in their ways of living is spread among the people. At a time when great efforts are being undertaken to make co-operation between the nations the basis of world peace and future prosperity this foundation of scholarship has an importance which cannot be disregarded without injury to the national, and to international interest" (p. 24).

The discussion of the building up of an academic tradition is especially significant for our institutions of higher learning, which are notorious for their short-lived interest in "supposedly esoteric" branches of knowledge: "The establishment and maintenance of an academic tradition is the first and most important long-term objective and it is only by calling into existence a body of scholars of high intellectual attainments that it will be possible to provide sound facilities for training for careers and to satisfy public interest. . . . This requires a continuous high standard over several generations" (p. 28). The story of Middle Eastern studies in America

has too often been the work of a single person which has not been continued after him

The chapter on training for careers is likewise important, for it indicates the various fields where specially-trained men and women can be profitably used. It should not be necessary to stress the importance of having well-trained, informed people in our government offices, in our companies in the East, and everywhere that the United States has contact with the East. The systematic presentation of the needs of the government branches, trade, industry and finance, and other users such as missionaries and employees of public corporations (BBC, BOAC, and the like) presents a strong case for the necessity of expanding and renovating Oriental studies in the United Kingdom. How much more cogent is the case with the United States!

A final chapter discusses the development of public interest in the East, and suggests methods for improving the teaching of information about the East in the schools. The recommendations are terse, practical, and exact, and bode well for the future of Oriental studies in Britain.

Our government, businessmen, and universities should take note of this significant report, for its broad conclusion that "it would be harmful to the national interest to allow the present state of affairs to continue" applies quite as much to the United States as to Great Britain.

RICHARD N. FRYE  
Harvard University

*Heirs of the Prophets*, by Samuel M. Zwemer.  
Chicago: The Moody Bible Institute,  
1946. 137 pages. \$2.00.

It is commonly stated that Islam knows no priesthood, that its clerics, or clergy, have no privileged position or authority. Dr. Zwemer, whose voluminous writings are known to all students of the Moslem world, has selected some very interesting material to indicate that there is a shadowy "priesthood" in fact if not in name, which exists as a vestige or evolution of pre-Islamic forms.

The argument presented quotes from the

Koran and the more authentic traditions, showing that Mohammed assumed the traditions, methods, and authority of a *kahin*, or pre-Islamic priest. The concept of a sacred mosque and pulpit (*minbar*) can be traced to the Christian cathedral and *ambo* used in Greek churches. The personnel of the mosque consists of a hierarchy beginning with the *khatib*, or preacher, and having gradations down through the *imam*, the *qadi* (judge), the *sayyid* or *sharif*, to the *qari'i* (reader), and the *muhtasib*, or censor of morals.

In the field of learning, there were and are gradations of honorific titles designating various classes of *ulema* or savants. The Mufti has the privilege of issuing an authoritative edict, the *fatwa*. In Shi'ite Islam, it is the *mujtahid* who issues edicts. There are sheikhs, topped by the Sheikh al-Islam. The training of an *alim*, or sheikh, still conforms to the medieval pattern. The picture of al-Azhar University, as portrayed by Dr. Zwemer, would not attract progressive minds, since as the matrix for producing *ulema* it largely follows seventh century forms and courses. Sacrifices and dervish orders are counterparts of those in other religions while superstitious worship of saints' tombs is a well-known characteristic throughout Islam. Associated with these traditions and institutions, is a special class of functionaries far removed from the simple unlettered believer.

Dr. Zwemer's pithy little essay unfortunately deals only with orthodox and "folk" Islam. There are references to liberal movements but no discussion of them. On page 122 he refers to "the political decay of Islam in our day, the increasing number of Moslems under foreign rule." This is not the trend in 1947, but quite the contrary as is illustrated by the successful independence movements in the Levant, Egypt, and Pakistan, and by the rising challenge to foreign rule in all Moslem lands. For one interested in the organization of the orthodox Moslem community, this book gives a concise and valuable summary of the "levels of authority."

EDWIN M. WRIGHT  
Washington, D. C.



## ARAB STATES

*Introducing Yemen*, by A. Farouhy. New York: Orientalia, Inc., 1947. 123 pages. \$2.50.

So far as is known, only eight Americans ever traveled in the Kingdom of Yemen before 1945. Since then, however, U. S.-Yemeni relations have become much closer. The American Consul at Aden has made several informal trips to San'a, the capital city. A special United States Diplomatic Mission, headed by Col. William A. Eddy, then U. S. Minister to Saudi Arabia, went to San'a in the spring of 1946, officially recognized Yemen, and on May 4 concluded an Agreement of Commerce and Friendship. On September 30, 1946, J. Rives Childs, the first American Minister to Yemen, presented his credentials to the Imam Yahya. In May 1947 the Government of Yemen signed an agreement in Cairo to purchase a million dollars worth of surplus property, payment to be made in five annual installments. In July 1947 Prince Saif al-Islam Abdullah, the sixth son of the King, came to Washington as the first official representative of the Kingdom of Yemen to visit the United States, and on August 18, the Security Council voted unanimously in favor of the admission of Yemen to membership in the United Nations. Since then, various American oil, engineering, construction, and trading companies have indicated an interest in taking part in the development of Yemen's resources and trade. Thus, recently a great many Americans have, for the first time, become aware of the existence of this small Arabian kingdom.

Under these circumstances the publication of *Introducing Yemen* by A. Farouhy, formerly Professor of Persian and Islamic History at the École Libre des Hautes Études, is most timely. Students of international affairs, travelers planning to visit the Arabian Peninsula, and alert newspaper readers who wish to expand their knowledge of Yemen, would do well to read this short handbook.

The work is divided into two main parts: Generalities and History. The first of these

is made up of a series of short but informative essays dealing with the geography of Yemen, its economy, mineral resources and primitive industry, its complicated currency and archaic system of weights and measures.

Professor Farouhy goes on to a discussion of progress in the field of education, the racial characteristics of the Yemeni, and the organizations and operations of the government. Except for Saudi Arabia and Tibet there are few places in the world where religion and state are more interwoven; the chapter on religion explains some of the background which has brought about this situation and the way the system works in practice. The first part of the book ends with a chart of the genealogy of the present dynasty, which is useful in unraveling the complicated history of that family. It is a matter of regret that the sections which make up this first half of *Introducing Yemen* are so short, for many of them could be expanded to good advantage.

Professor Farouhy's field is Islamic History, and the second part of the book dealing with the history of Yemen is considerably more satisfactory than the opening sections. The author's chapter on the Semites, the Ethiopians, the Persians, and the Moslems is packed with useful information. In the concluding chapters Professor Farouhy has also given an excellent picture of certain phases of twentieth century Yemeni history. His discussion of recent British, Italian, Russian, Saudi Arabian, and American relations with Yemen is well worth reading.

Included in the book is a short bibliography on Yemen, and texts of the Pact of Arab Alliance of 1936, the Arabian Pact of 1945, and the agreement between the United States and the Kingdom of Yemen of May 4, 1946. The usefulness of this publication as a handbook is further increased by the illustrations which show the striking architecture of Yemen, various important Yemeni personalities, and the flag and postage stamps of the country.

Scattered throughout the book, unfortunately, are various facts which might well stand checking. Among these may be mentioned the statements that the average temperature of the Tahama is 130° F. in the



shade, that the entire high plateau appears to be an immense garden, and that Yemeni horses are considered the best in the world. Future editions should also eliminate such errors as the statement that Saudi Arabia has a population about one-third as large as Yemen's, and that foreign powers have their consulates at Hodeida. Furthermore, the choicest coffee does not come from the district of San'a, but from the mountain valleys further south around Ibb. Professor Farouhi mentions the story, which has appeared in various non-scientific American publications, that the Imam's harem makes uniforms for the army, for which they are paid at piece rates. Firsthand investigation in Yemen has failed to reveal any basis for this tale. Such minor inaccuracies, however, do not invalidate the usefulness of *Introducing Yemen* as a handbook on that little-known country.

RICHARD H. SANGER  
Department of State

*Sudan Geography*, by R. A. Hodgkin.  
Khartoum: Education Dept. of the Sudan  
Government, 1946. 160 pages. £E .24

This small book on the geography of the Sudan has been prepared for use in the secondary schools of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and therefore is naturally written in a style that for adult readers will seem overly simple. However, those who have no great knowledge of the area but are interested in the Sudan and its people will find the book worth the time spent in reading it.

The text is more a series of readings than a formal, organized, or complete geography of the country. The general plan of the book is to present, chapter by chapter, a picture of how a given tribe or group of people lives, and in so doing to bring out those physical and cultural factors that have been of importance in influencing or molding the way of life of that particular group. As such, the geography is definitely of the anthropogeographic type, the emphasis being on the people rather than on the region in which they live. The author's method and the resultant content may make it of interest to

the child but disappointing to the geographer. Realizing how much Mr. Hodgkin must know about the Sudan, one can only wish that he had also written a book for the profession.

Mr. Hodgkin describes a majority of the tribal groups of the Sudan: the Kababish, the Shukriya, the Dinka, the Baggara, the Azande, and others. He also gives some space to descriptions of the country's chief cities and its communication system. Likewise, in various appropriate places, bits of purely physical geography and meteorology creep in. The text contains a number of interesting sketch maps showing the movements of certain nomadic tribes, the canal and irrigation systems of some areas, and the general layout of the major cities. There are also pen-and-ink sketches of typical landscapes, house types, and other features described in the text. A map of the Sudan and one showing the distribution of native tribes make up the end papers of the book. The inclusion of a map giving the location of purely regional and local place names mentioned in the text would have been helpful.

JOHN R. RANDALL  
The Ohio State University

## INDIA

*Good-bye India*, by Sir Henry Sharp. New  
York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 244  
pages. \$3.75.

There is inevitably an element of sadness in the close of an era, so not unexpectedly is there a tinge of wistfulness in Sir Henry Sharp's *Good-bye India*. The political changes in India mean the end of the way of life which Sir Henry and his colleagues knew: the extinction of the Indian Civil Service, one of the finest, as it was the oldest, of government civil services.

Not that *Good-bye India* is at all a depressing book. With light touches Sir Henry has sketched many of the "simple doings and day-to-day experiences . . . the minor activities, troubles and trifles" of a long and varied career. The troubles are not unduly

emphasized. Even the story of early experiences as a Famine Relief Officer is tempered with humorous, sympathetic anecdotes of the primitive forest people among whom Sir Henry was working. He tells of taking charge of unclaimed orphan children until his party must have resembled a traveling nursery. Once he found a suspiciously large number of orphans whom he added to his party and conveyed through the jungle until they approached a mission school. Immediately the children were reclaimed by their mothers who confessed, giggling, that they had wanted their children to share the milk and food given the orphans. "We followed you from place to place, hiding in the jungle so that you should not see us. Our children are much better for being so well looked after, but now that they are going to be sent away, it is high time they went home." Sir Henry could join in the laugh, and sent his pseudo-orphans home laden with sweets.

No less sympathetic is his attitude to Indians of vastly different culture and outlook: the courtly Marwari moneylender with whom financial transactions were ostensibly incidental to a social call; the Madrassi nationalist who scorned the Rajput Princes; the independent little Burmese ladies. Sir Henry champions the "misjudged" Bengali and enumerates his good qualities, even though Bengali journalists had abused him as a "mischievous importation from the jungles of the Central Provinces" and an "effete relic of a defunct satrapy." The latter bit of invective Sir Henry considered "good enough to frame and hang up in my office for the delectation of visitors."

A keen sportsman and naturalist, Sir Henry has many anecdotes of small and big game shooting, and appreciative descriptions of the floral wealth of Kashmir and the Assam hills. More unusual are his tales of the Sylhet cows with abnormal appetites for official correspondence, and of the fainting elephant whom he revived by mixing in one heroic dose the entire stock of medicines in the village shop.

It is characteristic of Sir Henry that he does not dwell on his own achievements. There are incidental references to the superintendence and "so far as possible, the radical

improvement, of 32,000 educational institutions" in Bengal and Assam, and to an invitation from the State of Jammu and Kashmir to report on the whole educational system, which suggest a specialist in education. Sir Henry was, in fact, in the Indian Educational Service, and acted in turn as principal of Government College, Jubbulpore, as inspector of schools, as a provincial Director of Public Instruction, as Secretary of the Department of Education of the Government of India, and as Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.

Only the last two chapters are devoted to a serious discussion of the problems that have long confronted India. Sir Henry frankly admits that behind the questions of the hour there loomed for him and his colleagues "a background of doubts, of acknowledged defects, failures and mistakes." To the three primary problems of poverty, disease, and population pressure on the land, all of which with "the impossibility of foreseeing any radical cure for them, produced a sense of frustration," he adds the social cleavage between British and Indians, and the long delay in admitting Indians to the higher offices of government.

For the new India Sir Henry has misgivings as to whether the introduction of British institutions will prove in the long run to have been in the best interests of India. "Have we led them up the garden path only to leave them bewildered in a labyrinth whence the exit is difficult to discover?" Sir Henry refers chiefly to the educational policy which produced a top-heavy growth, and the British parliamentary system which may prove unsuited to Indian traditions. But he has faith that in the latter event India will evolve a system of government "more congenial to her own traditions but tempered by modern developments and mellowed by the natural kindness and charity of her own people." He concludes with a prayer which must be echoed by all who know and love India, a prayer "for the peace of India and for her prosperity."

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## NORTH AFRICA

*Desert Hawk: Abd el Kader and the French Conquest of Algeria*, by Wilfrid Blunt. London: Methuen and Co., 1947. 292 pages. 16s.

*Desert Hawk* is the biography of an extraordinary figure of the nineteenth century who is all but unknown in America. The Emir Abd el Kader's struggle from 1831 to 1847 to dislodge the French from Algeria and establish an independent Arab state was a magnificent, if hopeless, resistance to the onward march of Occidental power. The epic of his countless martial exploits, his victories and defeats, his sudden shifts of fortune when seemingly final disaster changed overnight to triumph, or triumph to disaster, would be difficult to match in any modern history.

Mr. Blunt has succeeded in holding the reader's interest and in arousing a warm sympathy for the great Emir, who represented in highest degree that type so little found or understood in our world: the sane, efficient, and truly saintlike mystic. Indeed, one of the chief differences between the West and the East in modern times is that among the men of prominence and power in the East have been many whose traits of character more nearly resembled those of the early Christian martyrs and the medieval saints than of any modern Occidentals not confined to asylums. Perhaps in that respect we have lost something of importance by our evolution toward the more prosaic values.

Much of the account of Abd el Kader's life is drawn from the autobiography of Léon Roches, an equally astonishing French adventurer who became a Moslem to pursue his fruitless search for an Arab girl he loved, and who served for many years as the Emir's interpreter. When Roches, upon the renewal of hostilities with France, informed Abd el Kader that his profession of Islam had been false, the Emir dismissed him unharmed but remained his friend and correspondent until his death.

Mr. Blunt's work has the merits of a simple, easy style and a politically objective approach. He remarks that it ill behooves an Englishman to cast stones at the methods of

colonial warfare practiced by the French. In discussing France's breach of faith in retaining Abd el Kader in prison for five years after guaranteeing him a safe-conduct to Turkey upon his surrender, a far-fetched comparison is made with Napoleon's voluntary boarding of the *Bellerophon* after negotiation with its commander.

*Desert Hawk* as history is popular rather than scholarly. It suffers from omissions in the account of the campaigns of Abd el Kader and from more serious ones respecting his political and diplomatic actions. In the chapter devoted to the Moroccan War there is an almost total absence of background for the Algerian policies of Sultan Abd el Rahman; the uninitiated reader is also left in doubt as to the manner in which the French liquidated the Turkish residue which remained after their capture of Algiers. But the gravest weakness of the biography is its failure to consider the curious evolution of Abd el Kader's spiritual and psychological outlook, especially in its relation to the French. Although described at the outset of his career as a fanatic who viewed himself as an instrument chosen by God to wage unceasing war against the Infidel, the Emir made truces whenever it suited his convenience, and on occasion even entered into alliance with the Christians to fight other Arabs.

The truth appears to have been, although Mr. Blunt does not explain how it happened, that with the passage of time Abd el Kader ascended out of religious frenzy into a tolerant and philosophical deism. In the Great Mosque at Damascus, during his last years, the Emir held classes for students in which "he enlivened the conventional commentaries on the Koran and the Hadith by quotations from authors such as Aristotle and Plato." Previously, when he left Amboise after his release from imprisonment by Napoleon III, he had presented the parish church with a "magnificent glass chandelier," a strange gesture from one who had declared a jihad to the death against all Frenchmen. But the most amazing performance of the Emir was his courageous championship of the Christians in Damascus in 1860, when the local Moslems were incited



to massacre them. This final deed saved 12,000 Christian lives and established so loftily the prestige of Abd el Kader that, had he wished it, he apparently might have become Viceroy of Algeria or even monarch of a new Arab state with Syria as its nucleus. It is indicative of Abd el Kader's philosophical growth that he lent his support to none of these proposals but found what he required to satisfy the last years of his life in books and meditation.

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## PALESTINE

*Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies*, published for the Esco Foundation for Palestine, Inc. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. 2 vols. xxii + 1380 pages. \$12.00.

The size of this work is some indication of the immensity and complexity of the whole problem of modern Palestine, for in the main it is only modern Palestine that is treated. The work aims to be a "definitive source book in the field of Palestinian affairs." To this end many documents are summarized, from "The Development of Zionism in the Nineteenth Century" (the title of Chapter I) to the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry of April 20, 1946.

The sponsorship of the study is Jewish and the point of view is friendly to Zionism, but without special pleading. It must be remembered that it is Zionist interest in Palestine that has made so much of its modern history and has caused such ambitious works as this to be written. It is only natural, then, that much space is given to Zionist activities, and that a certain pride in Zionist achievements shows itself throughout most of the two volumes.

A notable list of twenty contributors is given, but most of their contributions were rewritten and integrated by the "Director" of the study, who remains anonymous. It is revealed, however, that "Esco" is an acrostic of Ethel S. Cohen, the wife of the founder of the Esco Foundation for Palestine.

Certainly this work is worthwhile and to some extent exhaustive — one might almost say exhausting. Here one may find out what Herzl said and did, and when; one may see a map of the Sykes-Picot Agreement; one may learn what happened at the World War I Peace Conference in regard to Palestine; one may find a record of the conflicts in Palestine during the last quarter of a century and summaries of the reports of the various commissions that attempted to formulate solutions. There is an account of the Middle East and Palestine during World War II. About 100 pages are devoted specifically to "The Development of the Jewish National Home," although this subject necessarily recurs throughout the work.

A special chapter on the Arabs entitled "The Arab World and Arab Politics in Palestine" is short when compared with the treatment of other subjects, but especially in its first part, based on a paper by Gustave E. Von Grunebaum of the University of Chicago, is accurate and informative. The following chapter, entitled "Communities, Attitudes and Arab-Jewish Relations," adds to the treatment of the Arabs, especially as they appear in "communities," or religious groups. Their social structure is also described. Noteworthy is the sketch of the Christian Arab sects by W. F. Albright, reproduced with little change by the "Director." This chapter also treats of the Jewish community and its efforts toward Arab-Jewish rapprochement. Here of course we are in the thorny heart of the vexed Palestine problem. Three of the chief difficulties are given correctly as immigration, land-purchase, and the constitution of a Legislative Council. Arabs and Jews can agree about many other matters, but not about these three; hence the conflict. Various interesting and sometimes fairly effective attempts at reconciliation are described, but the conclusion is necessarily that not enough progress in that direction has been made to reach a solution. Moreover, it is difficult to assess blame for the present situation. Doubtless Arabs, Jews, and British are all somewhat at fault and no one really knows whether the basic approach should be political, or social and economic. This study is to be commended



for recognizing the complexity of the situation and the fact that all three contending parties have bases for their claims.

Maps and statistical tables add to the factual element of the study, and yet throughout we have largely the viewpoint of one person, the anonymous "Director." While this feature may be criticized, it has value in integration and reduction of bulk. It is captious to criticize overmuch a work that has accomplished as much as this one. All students of modern Palestine will find it very useful.

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*The Revival of Palestine*, by Joshua Ziman.  
New York: Sharon Books, 1946. 192 pages.  
\$2.50.

*Outlines of a Development Plan for Jewish Palestine*, by Ludwig Gruenbaum. Jerusalem: Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1946. 171 pages. 600 mils.

In subject matter these two books are complementary: one looks backward, the other, forward. *The Revival of Palestine* describes in statistical terms the economic development of the Holy Land, beginning with the Jewish colonization effort in modern times. *Outlines of a Development Plan for Jewish Palestine*, on the other hand, projects the development of the recent past into the near future in order to substantiate the contention that a million Jewish immigrants can become self-supporting in the Palestinian economy.

Since *The Revival of Palestine* was conceived by the author, for many years a statistician for the Jewish National Fund, as a popular presentation for the uninformed, the text carries the burden of the statistical data. These are rendered palatable by being offered in the form of short, simple tables repeated as moderately successful pictographs. There is little documentation, or appraisal and qualification of the statistics.

In books of this sort one does not expect the unearthing of new facts, or new interpretations of old facts. It is sufficient that the oft-told tale be narrated with accuracy and

interest. This in general the author has accomplished, despite occasional lapses. The number of Palestinian Jewish enlistees in the armed forces, for example, is given on page 44 as 50,000; the figure of 23,000 given on page 119 is much closer to the true one. It is controversial, at least, to report without rigorous qualifications that grain growing is one of the two main lines of agricultural development for Palestine (page 59).

There can be no doubt, however, concerning Mr. Ziman's conclusion that "the development of Palestine until now has proved that the Jewish people is capable of building up the country. . . ." More difficult to accept without question is the author's further conclusion "that the country is able to absorb the masses of Jewish refugees," for at no point has he made any attempt to correlate past performance with future absorptive capacity.

Dr. Gruenbaum, on the other hand, in his *Outlines of a Development Plan for Jewish Palestine*, does attempt to support this same conclusion with an economic analysis. His point of departure is the economic relationships of the middle thirties as disclosed by his brilliant study of Palestine's national income in 1936. Against this background, Gruenbaum assesses the wartime changes in the Palestinian economy in an effort to determine those which can be regarded as structural and lasting: he finds that the war has enhanced Palestine's long-run absorptive capacity. The author then proceeds to analyze the impact on the Jewish and Arab economies of mass immigration of Jewish refugees, e.g. 1,000,000 in the immediate post-war years. He centers his attention not on the transition period, when the necessary capital investment would provide ample employment opportunities, but on the period following, when employment on investment goods would be restricted to replacements and to capital needs created by normal population growth. At this point, would there be a high level of employment of the Jewish labor force and what would be its occupational pattern? Would employment be sufficiently remunerative to maintain the pre-war standard of living of the Jewish community and still provide savings for replace-

ment of capital goods? Would export of goods and services balance imports? Dr. Gruenbaum's study provides affirmative answers to these important economic questions.

As the author is careful to point out, such an analysis does not provide a blueprint for the planning authorities of Jewish Palestine, nor does it purport to be a forecast of the future. His more modest objective is to show what could happen on the basis of assumptions which he considers reasonable. The validity of the analysis, therefore, depends on whether the assumptions are "reasonable" and whether the argument derived from them is logical. On the latter point, this reviewer has not been able to discover any important fundamental fallacies.

Two of Dr. Gruenbaum's prerequisites, however, involve a concentration of economic power in the authorities that may entail a serious abridgment of civil liberties. Unfortunately, the political ramifications of his planning are not explored by the author. It is not clear from his analysis whether this "range of compulsion" is required to maintain the "equilibrium" which he envisages after the transition, or whether the differentials in economic rewards will provide sufficient incentives to maintain appropriate relationships. Certainly the author has not assumed a greater concentration of governmental powers than the British Labor Government has received in order to meet the British crisis.

Dr. Gruenbaum wisely refrains from contending that the "reasonable" necessarily will come to pass, especially in Palestine. But even if the "reasonable" assumptions are not fulfilled, the analysis is more than an exercise well done. It serves to demonstrate that the White Paper policy of restricted land sales to Jews and the restriction or cessation of Jewish immigration cannot be rationalized on the basis of the exhaustion of Palestine's economic absorptive capacity.

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*The Anglo-Palestine Year Book, 1946*, ed. by  
F. J. Jacoby and I. A. Abbady. London:

Anglo-Palestine Publications, 1946. 384 pages. 25s.

*The Palestine Year Book, Volume II*, ed. by  
Sophie A. Udin. New York: Zionist Organization of America, 1946. 658 pages. \$3.75.

*The Anglo-Palestine Year Book* is a well-balanced and well-organized compendium of useful facts, objectively presented. One of its notable features is the graphic presentation of statistical data (pages 193-232). In thirty-nine colored charts and diagrams an amazing amount of information about Palestine is given in a form easily assimilated by those who do not wish to undertake the laborious work of studying endless columns of figures. It would be useful to the reader, however, if in future editions the editor would indicate on each graph the page, or pages, giving the statistical data upon which the charts are based.

In general *The Anglo-Palestine Year Book* is well equipped with useful aids for quick reference. There is an adequate map of Palestine with a comprehensive geographical register of towns and places; a thorough index for both subject matter and advertisers. Scattered throughout the text are well-chosen photographs which present in a striking manner some of the changes which have taken place in Palestine during the past twenty-five years.

For the purpose for which it was designed, *The Anglo-Palestine Year Book* is more than adequate. It does not, of course, deal with the "problems" of Palestine. Despite its wealth of data, no uninformed reader would obtain from it any idea of the underlying economic problems, of the seething social conflicts, or of the bitter political strife in that land.

*The Palestine Year Book* is of a different category. Its editor is a Zionist. It is sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America and is written for the most part by Zionists. Because of these facts, rather than despite them, *The Palestine Year Book* has very real value and is of considerable use to the student of Palestinian problems.

The book is divided into eleven parts quite different in character and usefulness. In Part I, devoted to a political summary, Abba

Hillel Silver has an article on "The Political Situation in Zionism" which is of special interest because it raises slightly the veil of secrecy which shrouds the lobby and pressure group activities of the Zionist leaders in Washington in recent years. Appended to Part I is a chronology (July 1, 1945, to September 25, 1946) of events selected, it would appear, for propaganda purposes rather than for their general importance.

Part II, "Jews in 1945-1946," includes a section by Arieh Tartakower on Jewish colonization outside of Palestine in which he deals sketchily with the attempt of the Soviet Union to create a Jewish Socialist Soviet Republic in Birobidjan, American proposals for Jewish colonization in Alaska, and Jewish colonies in Argentina. Mr. Tartakower makes no attempt to analyze the reasons for the lack of greater success in these efforts at Jewish colonization but uses his materials in a typical Zionist manner to prove that Palestine is the only solution to the Jewish problem. There are also tables of the estimated distribution of the Jewish population in Europe in 1939 and 1946.

In Part III, "The Economic Scene," David Horowitz has a useful article on "Economy in Transition in Palestine" which contains statistical data not easily accessible elsewhere. A section on "Industry and Trade in Palestine" contains material essential to any study of the economic situation. The section on housing reveals that the "congestion in the cities" and the "overcrowding" in the communal settlements is "as serious as in the towns," a fact which poses a problem with respect to the practicality of immediate large-scale Jewish immigration. Part V, "Cultural Life in Palestine," is devoted exclusively to the cultural life of the Jews in Palestine as expressed in literature, the theater, music, and art.

Part VII, "The Zionist Movement," deals briefly with the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the World Zionist Conference of 1945. Part VIII, "Zionist Funds," has three statistical tables of interest. Two of these deal with agricultural and rural land purchases by the Zionists from 1939 to 1945, giving the number of *dunam*'s purchased and prices paid for

land. The balance sheet of income and expenditures of the National Funds, 1917-1944, is of considerable interest. Part IX, "Zionism in the United States," contains an article by Louis Lipsky entitled "Early Days of American Zionism," which throws some light on the rise and fall of Justice Brandeis' leadership of the Zionist movement in the United States. Part XI, "Lists and Directories," contains a comprehensive list of Zionist and other Jewish organizations participating in Palestinian activities in the United States, and a list of Zionist periodicals.

In a volume of over 600 pages, only 51 (Part IV) deal with the Arabs. A. Bonné has a thought-provoking article on "Problems of Middle East Development" which is well worth reading. C. Abramowitz writes a brief and inadequate article on "Arab Economy in Palestine in 1945" which, however, contains some valuable data on land values and wages. As a handbook on Palestine, *The Palestine Year Book* is thus incomplete and its title misleading. But with respect to Jewish Palestine, Zionist interests, and Jewish affairs, it contains much valuable information.

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## BOOKS ALSO NOTED

### General

*ABC of the Arab World*, by Margaret Pope. London: The Socialist Book Centre, 1946. 74 pages. 3s. 6d. A brief alphabetical handbook of Arab names, places, and institutions, with emphasis on modern terms.

*Armenia Reborn*, by Charles A. Vertanes. New York: Armenian National Council of America, 1947. 216 pages, 78 illust. \$3.00. (To be reviewed.)

*British Security*, by a Chatham House Study Group. London & New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1946. 176 pages. 8s. 6d. A report which sums up "the main problems confronting the United Kingdom in the search for national security." In the chapter dealing specifically with the British position in the



Middle East the group reaches the conclusion that the most hopeful method of resolving Middle East social and economic problems "would be a co-operative scheme, founded upon the charter of the United Nations Organization, in which Middle East countries would participate on terms of equal partnership with the other Powers with interests in the region. . . ."

*Gazzali et S. Thomas d'Aquin: Essai Sur la Preuve de l'Existence de Dieu Proposée dans l'Iqtisad et sa Comparaison avec les "Voies" Thomistes*, by S. de Beaurecueil. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale, 1947. 40 pages.

*History of the Islamic Peoples*, by Carl Brockelmann. Tr. by Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1947. 582 pages. \$6.00. (To be reviewed.)

*Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*, by H. and H. A. Frankfort, John A. Wilson, Thorkild Jacobsen, and W. A. Irwin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. vii + 401 pages. \$4.00.

*Islām*, by Laura Veccia Vaglieri. Naples: Casa Editrice Raffaele Pironti & figli, 1946. 244 pages. According to a review in *Oriente Moderno* this book is "the richest chronicle of Islam and its institutions yet to appear in Italy." Valuable for the accumulation of material from a large number of publications, and for admirable clarity of exposition.

#### Arab States

*Aden to the Hadhramaut: A Journey in South Arabia*, by D. van der Meulen. London: John Murray, 1947. 254 pages. 18s. (To be reviewed.)

*Egypt in 1945*, ed. by M. L. Roy Choudhury. London: Luzac, 1947. xvii + 233 pages. 8s.

*Statistical Abstract 1944 and 1945*. Baghdad: Ministry of Economics, 1946. 239 pages.

#### Palestine

*'Arvei Erets Israel (The Arabs of Palestine)* [in Hebrew], by Jacob Shimoni. Tel Aviv: 'Am Oved Press, 1947. 476 pages. (To be reviewed.)

*Foundations: A Survey of twenty-five years of Activity of the Palestine Foundation Fund, Keren Hayesod: Facts and Figures, 1921-1946*, by Abraham Ulitzur. Jerusalem: Keren Hayesod, 1946. 145 pages. \$1.00.

*Haganah: The Story of Jewish Self-Defense in Palestine*, by M. P. Waters. London: Newman Wolsey, 1947. 62 pages. 2s. A justification of Haganah's continued arming on grounds of defense needs.

*Social and Economic Changes in Arab Palestine*, by Mohammed Y. al-Husseini. Jerusalem: Beit al-Makdis Press, 1947. 204 pages. 300 mils.

*The Zionist Movement*, by Israel Cohen. New York: Zionist Organization of America, 1946. 400 pages. \$3.50. A revision with supplementary chapters on Zionism in the United States of a work first published in Great Britain in 1945.

#### Turkey

*The Balkans: Frontier of Two Worlds*, by William B. King and Frank O'Brien. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. 278 pages. \$3.50. Devotes considerable space to Turkey's position today. (To be reviewed.)

*La Costituzione della Repubblica Turca*, by Terenzio Marfori. Florence: Sansoni, 1947. 276 pages. [Testi e Documenti costituzionali, No. 25.] Not merely an examination of the Turkish Constitution of April 20, 1924, with its amendments, but also an analysis of the origins of the constitutional movement in Turkey from the reforms of 1839.

*Turkish — American — English Industrial Commercial Directory, 1946-1947*, ed. by H. Erkan and M. Kemal. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1947. 460 pages. £5.

*Türkiye Kilavuzu*, comp. by Hüseyin Orak. Vol. I, Ankara: Sanayi Caddesi A. Riza Apt. 3, 1946. 850 pages. T. L. 17.50. A detailed guide in Turkish to the provinces of Turkey. Volume I covers Afyonkarahisar — Cankiri.

#### Linguistics

*Arabic Reader*, by Chaim Rabin. London: Lund Humphries & Co., 1947. 172 pages. 12s. 6d. One of the Lund Humphries' Modern Language Readers. Contains modern prose selections chiefly from works written since 1930, vocabularies, and grammatical notes.

*Dizionario Ebraico-Italiano*, by N. Erdelyi, in collaboration with M. Altieri. Florence: Casa Editrice "Israel," 1946. 560 pages. 500 lire. A new Hebrew-Italian dictionary.

*Sudan Colloquial Arabic*, by J. Spencer Trimingham. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947. 176 pages. \$2.50.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Near East Section, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Nabia Abbott, Elizabeth Bacon, G. L. Della Vida, John Dorosh, Richard Ettinghausen, Carl Ginsburg, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, Cecil Hobbs, Herbert J. Liebesny, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, William I. Preston, C. Rabin, and Benjamin Schwartz.

*Note:* It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East roughly since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of excellent bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Moslem Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and India. The ancient Near East, Byzantium, Zionism and Palestine<sup>1</sup> are excluded; in the case of India, only material dealing with history and the social sciences since 1600 will normally be considered.<sup>2</sup> An attempt will be made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields, with the exception of those published in the languages of India.

<sup>1</sup> Palestine, Zionism, the Jews of Palestine, etc. are omitted only because of the existence of a current, cumulative bibliography devoted to this field, i.e. *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

<sup>2</sup> Art and archaeology, language and literature, etc. are well covered by the following: Kern Institute. *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* (Leiden); George M. Moraes. *Bibliography of Indological studies 1942-*, (Bombay), Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For list of abbreviations, see page 490.

## GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 818 "Flood protection for Colombo." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 501. Summary of an article by H. A. S. Smith on "Some Surveys of Rivers in Ceylon."
- 819 "Problems of land use in Cyprus." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 498-9. Summary of "The Proceedings of a Conference on Land Use in a Mediterranean Environment." (Nicosia, 1947).
- 820 "Reclamation of saline soils in the lower Jordan valley." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 498.

Summary of a report published by the Agricultural Research Station, Rehovot.

- 821 "The site of Beirut." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 499-500. Summary of a study by Étienne de Vaumas entitled "Le relief de Beyrouth et son influence sur le développement de la ville."
- 822 DE CROZE, JOEL. "Afghanistan today." *J. Indian Inst. Internat. Aff.* (New Delhi) 3 (Ja '47) 29-49. A valuable description.
- 823 FISHER, W. B. "Unity and diversity in the Middle East." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 414-35. A comprehensive review of recent literature on the Middle East that is of interest to geographers.
- 824 KALLNER, D. H. "A letter from Palestine."

*Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 457-60. A non-political review of recent developments in Palestine that are of interest to the geographer.

- 825 McCUNE, SHANNON. "Man's activities in Ceylon." *J. of Geog.* (Chicago) 46 (Ap '47) 147-59. A brief sketch of the island's history is followed by an account of its various ethnic groups and their activities, agriculture being particularly stressed.
- 826 McCUNE, SHANNON. "The soils of Ceylon." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 500-501. Summary of "A Review of Progress in the Study of the Soils of Ceylon," a preliminary report on investigations being made by the Department of Agriculture of Ceylon.
- 827 NUTTONSON, M. Y. "Agroclimatology and crop ecology of Palestine and Transjordan and climatic analogues in the United States." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 436-56. Condensation of a study published by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture. Map, tables, and bibliography.
- 828 PROUDLOCK, LIEUT. COL. V. "By jeep to Chitral." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 193-4. Brief account of the second journey ever made by motor vehicle from Peshawar to Chitral.

## HISTORY AND POLITICS

(Ancient, medieval, modern)

- 829 "Aid to Greece and Turkey." *Dept. of State Bull.* (suppl.) 16 (My 4 '47). Entire issue devoted to various messages, reports, statements, etc. It includes a section containing 111 questions and answers relating to the Greco-Turkish aid bill, as released, Apr. 3, 1947, by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.
- 830 "Deathbed of the Indian Empire." *Round Table* (London) 147 (Jl '47) 230-6. The anonymous author, a newspaperman lately returned from India, fears that communal tension accompanied by a general deterioration of administration is likely to result in anarchy.
- 831 "Development of the Arab League." *Dept. of State Bull.* 16 (My 18 '47) 963-70. A sketch of the highlights, with the texts of the Alexandria Protocol and the Pact of the League of Arab States.
- 832 "The king of Iraq." (in Arabic) *Al-Hilal* (Cairo) (My '47) 21-2. Some details of the private life of the young king, Faysal II.
- 833 "Quitting India." *Round Table* (London) 147 (Jl '47) 262-9. The details and repercussions of Attlee's statement of Feb. 20, 1947.
- 834 "The testing time for Egypt." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Jl '47) ME 47. Whether or not Egypt's case is dismissed by UN, the Wafd political party will make the most of its current opportunity during this testing time for Egypt.
- 835 "Turkey's relations with its Arab neighbors: a new area of American concern." *Amer. Perspective* (Washington, D. C.) 1 (Je '47) 135-46. Discusses the Alexandretta dispute and the new Turko-Transjordan treaty, with particular reference to the Greater Syria idea, and concludes that in spite of superficial counter-indications of intrigue, Turkey at the present time is merely trying to establish cordial relations with its Arab neighbors.
- 836 "The Yemen in modern treaty pattern." *Amer. Perspective* (Washington, D. C.) 1 (Ap '47) 41-8. Traces the highlights in the Yemen's international relations since World War I.
- 837 ADIVAR, ABDULHAK ADNAN. "Islamic and western thought in Turkey." *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 270-80. Traces Turkish attempts to effect an adjustment between the dogmatism of Islam and the free investigation of the West, with the conclusion that there was only partial success. Only as a result of a rebirth of religious thought within a laic state can a properly integrated culture emerge.
- 838 ASTUTO, RICARDO. "L'Inghilterra, gli arabi et noi." *Affrica* (Rome) 2 (Mr '47) 57-60. The author, a former colonial governor, advocates collaboration with England in her Mediterranean, Arab, and African policies as a means of rebuilding Italy's African position.
- 839 AWAD, MOHAMED. "Egypt, Great Britain, and the Sudan." *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 281-91. A presentation of the Egyptian viewpoint regarding the Sudan in relation to the problem of treaty revision.
- 840 BALTISKY, N. "A reply to Indian readers." (in Russian) *Novoe Vremia* (Moscow) 23 (Je 6 '47) 15-20. A disquisition on democracy vs nationalism and patriotism, leading to a discussion of the current political difficulties in India, coupled with a condemnation of the British, Gandhism, and the caste system.
- 841 BARGHUTHY, OMAR SALEH. "A ministry of propaganda under the Fatimids." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 57-9. A brief notice of a secret ministry of propaganda set up by the Fatimid Caliph Al-Mu'izz for the purpose of disseminating Shi'ite principles in Sunni Egypt.
- 842 BEKMAKHANOV, E. "Kazakhstan during the 20's to the 40's of the 19th century." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR. Ser. ist. i fil.* (Moscow) 4 (1947) 94-6. A discussion of some two decades in the history of Kazakhstan, which were marked by the impact of capitalistic money-economy on the nomadic system of the region, by the

- liquidation of the power of the khans, and by the attempted formation, in the 1830's, of a centralized government, headed by Kenesary Kasimov, under the protection of Russia. Kazakhstan was fully incorporated into the Russian Empire in the early 1850's.
- 843 BELYAEV, E. A. "The division into periods of the history of Turkey in the middle ages." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR. Ser. ist. i fil.* (Moscow) 4 (1947) 85-9. Unlike the bourgeois historians who have divided the history of Turkey into periods according to the sultanates, "the Soviet historians, on the basis of the teachings of Marx and Lenin," divide the history of that country according to social and economic developments. Thus they trace the medieval period through the evolution, decline, and demise of feudalism.
- 844 BRAILSFORD, H. N. "India: today and tomorrow." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 978 (Jl '47) 321-6. Another gloomy review of the situation ending with the hope that Pakistan and Hindustan will be linked in a loose confederation to be joined eventually by Burma and Ceylon.
- 845 CHAD, C. "Remous électoraux en Syrie." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/37 (1er trim. '47) 67-73.
- 846 COURTOIS, V. "L'Islam aux Indes." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 107-15.
- 847 CURTI, MERLE. "Impressions of a visit to India." *Yale Rev.* 36 (Je '47) 689-702. A worthwhile series of incisive impressions, chiefly of the major political figures. Professor Curti, who is anti-Pakistan and not a little pessimistic about the future, went to India as the first visiting professor of the Watumull Foundation.
- 848 DAJANI, BURHAN. "National movement for freedom in Syria and Palestine." *India Quart.* (Delhi) 3 (Je '47) 135-43. The nationalist movements in the Near East stem from the desires of the Arab peoples for freedom from Western sovereignty.
- 849 DOWSON, V. H. "Thomas Horton of Qishm." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap' 47) 195-204. The author gives evidence to disprove a story, hitherto accepted by reputable authors, concerning the existence of an English Sheikh of Qishm in the Persian Gulf.
- 850 JAMES, SIR FREDERICK. "The Indian political scene." *Internat. Aff.* (London) 23 (Ap '47) 221-7. Britain's greatest achievement in India was the establishment of the rule of law, says the writer who had many years of service in the Bengal, Madras, and Central Legislatures.
- 851 JAMES, L. "Egypt and the Nile valley." *Fortnightly* (London) 964 n.s. 268-73. Although full co-operation between the various political units of the Nile Valley is necessary in order to carry out plans for development of the Nile water, this does not require political union between Egypt and the Sudan. The author is a member of the Dept. of Geography of Farouk I University in Alexandria.
- 852 JENKINS, SHIRLEY (ed.) "Transition in Asia: Annapolis session." *Far East. Survey* 16 (Ap 23 '47) 91-5. A summary of the Annapolis Regional Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which includes a discussion of problems in India.
- 853 KIMCHE, JON. "Oil and Arab nationalism." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 72-9. Concludes that because of oil, the U. S. and Britain will increase their Middle East commitments; a strong impulse will be given to Arab nationalism and the Arab League; the final break-up of feudalism may be foreseen.
- 854 KÖYMEN, M. A. "The Oğuz revolt in the great Seljuk Empire." (in Turkish) *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Mr-Ap '47) 159-73. A documented account of the origin, development, and denouement of the Oğuz uprising against the Seljuk Sultan Sancar in the 12th century A. D. The battle in Belh Province (ca. 1153) in which the Seljuk army was destroyed and Sancar taken prisoner is described as a principal factor in the break-up of Seljuk power. With German version pp. 175-86.
- 855 LEHRMAN, HAL. "Turkey and the Dardanelles." *World Rev.* (London) (Ap '47) 24-9. A discussion of the motive and probable outcome of Russian demands on Turkey is followed by a critical summary of Turkey's internal politics. The author is an American journalist who spent several months in Turkey.
- 856 MCLEISH, A. "India in transition." *World Aff.* 1 n.s. (Ap '47) 131-42. Report of a recent traveler who refuses to make any predictions, but does "draw inferences based on past experience."
- 857 MITRA, SISIRKUMAR. "The out-posts of Indian culture." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (Ap '47) 169-73. Hits the high spots of Indian influence on Oriental cultures from remote antiquity down to the present.
- 858 MUNSHI, K. M. "Progress of Indian political thought." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (Ap '47) 174-5. Modern political thought in India has been considerably influenced by the West, especially in regard to nationalism, democracy, and rule of law.
- 859 NEUVILLE, RÉNÉ. "Heurs et malheurs des consuls de France à Jérusalem aux XVIIe, XVIIIe et XIXe siècles." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 3-34. Part I,

- here presented, discusses the background of French consular representation at Jerusalem and history to 1843. Special attention to the three incumbents during this period: Jean Lempereur (1621-25); Sébastien de Brémond (1699-1700); Jean de Blacas (1713-14). To be continued.
- 860 NIMRI, N. N. "The warrior people of Djebel Druze: a militant minority in the Middle East." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 90-6. Part II: beliefs and customs, community organization. (See No. 278).
- 861 PANIKKAR, K. M. "The Himalayas and Indian defense." *India Quart.* (Delhi) 3 (Je '47) 127-35. In comparison with many European states, India is not one of the "world's most invaded countries." The author believes that an adequate defense against aggression from the north can be based on the Himalayan peaks and passes.
- 862 PERLMANN, M. "Political organization of the Arabs of Palestine." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 53-5. A brief historical sketch.
- 863 PERLMANN, M. "The republic of Syria." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 72-5. A general sketch of Syria's recent history and internal problems, including a brief discussion of the Greater Syria scheme.
- 864 AL-RĀFI'Ī, 'ABD AL-RAHMAN. "Day of glory." (in Arabic) *Al-Hilal* (Cairo) (My '47) 7-10. The English and Egyptian armies clashed in the battle of Al-Himād, April 21, 1807, which ended in a rout of the English and their subsequent evacuation of Alexandria five months later.
- 865 RAO, SHIVA. "The Indian press: its duties and responsibilities." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (Mr '47) 133-6. Credits the Indian press, among other accomplishments, with stimulating, shaping, and guiding the movement for Indian freedom.
- 866 REITZEL, WILLIAM. "The American position in the Mediterranean." *Yale Rev.* 36 (Je '47) 673-88. An able analysis of the development of the American entrance into Mediterranean affairs culminating in the Truman Doctrine, largely caused by an unfavorable estimate of American, British, and Russian relations. Why Greece was to be given help in political and economic form and Turkey in its military form is particularly well explained.
- 867 RIGGIO, ACHILLE. "Tunisi e il Regno di Napoli nei primordi del secolo XIX." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 1-23. The texts of letters exchanged between the Dutch consul, Nyssen, and Count Di Thurn, Commander of the Royal Italian Navy in Naples.
- 868 RIGGS, FRED W. "U. S. legislation affecting Asiatics." *Far East. Survey* 16 (Ap 23 '47) 88-91. Includes statements concerning the status of Indians, Afghans, Parsees, Armenians, Persians, Syrians, and Arabs as potential U. S. citizens.
- 869 ROLO, CHARLES and BAHĀ, SÜHEYL. "Storm over Turkey." *Tomorrow* (New York) 8 (Je '47) 20-5. After an entertaining review of Turkey today, the authors conclude that of all the countries which the U. S. is seeking to help, Turkey offers the most hopeful outlook, principally because of its virtually complete unity on foreign policy.
- 870 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Le mouvement national kurde en 1946." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 128-41. A review of the brief Kurdish Republic established around Mahabad in Iran, and of activity in other Kurdish centers in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon.
- 871 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Le Pakistan." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/37 (1er trim. '47) 29-60. Discusses the Moslem community in India and the Moslem-Hindu conflict; the origins and prospects of Pakistan; the development of Moslem opinion on the subject; Pakistan and the future of Islam.
- 872 ROOSEVELT, ARCHIE, JR., "The Kurdish republic of Mahabad." *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 247-69. The process of establishment and fall of this short-lived republic, which was in existence from December 1945 to December 1946, is described in considerable detail by one of the few witnesses on the scene.
- 873 RUTHNASWAMY, M. "The constitution-making assembly" — I, II." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (F/Mr '47) 70-4/152-6. Urges the assembly to profit from the experiences of other such assemblies, notably those of the U. S. and France.
- 874 SCHILLING, E. M. "A contribution to the history of an agricultural ritual in Daghestan." (in Russian) *Akad. Nauk. Institut etnografii. Kratkie soobshcheniia* 1 (1946) 32-4. A description of the ritual of sword-worship in the village of Chokh, Daghestan, that retraces its origins several centuries to the influence of Islam.
- 875 SEN, MIHIR KUMAR. "India's foreign service." *India and World Aff.* 2 (D '46) 135-41. Diplomatic relations with the U. S., China, and France, and eventually with all other countries, require a foreign service on a par with those of the other great nations of the world.
- 876 SOMOGY, JOSEPH DE. "Buda in the days of Islam." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 214-23. Although the central part of Hungary was under Turkish domination for almost a century and a half (1541-1686), very few Moslem traces are left. However, modern Budapest's well-deserved reputa-



- tion as a city of baths and cafés is largely due to the Turks who first introduced these compensatory features into an otherwise unpleasant military occupation.
- 877 SRIVASTAVA, ASHIRBADI LAL. "Early life of Emperor Shah Alam II, 1728-1806." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (F '47) 80-5. Well-documented account of this shadowy Mogul prince.
- 878 THURSTON, RAYMOND L. "United States relations with the government of India." *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 292-306. A factual review of the events leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U. S. and the Government of India in February 1947.
- 879 TOLSTOV, S. P. "The New Year's festival 'Calandas' among the Christians of Khwarezm at the beginning of the 11th century." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 2 (1946) 87-108. A study of the medieval Christian church in Turkestan and its relations with the Khazars, Constantinople, and the Russians.
- 880 VOLGIN, V. "Our trip to India." *New Times* (Moscow) 12 (Mr 21 '47) 19-24. The interesting, if not important, impressions of the leader of an Academy of Sciences delegation to the Indian Science Congress, January 1947.
- 881 ZAKI, AL-BAKBĀSHI 'ABD AL-RAḤ-MĀN. "The occupation of Egypt — how it happened." (in Arabic) *Al-Hilāl* (Cairo) (My '47) 92-6. An account of the battles of 1882, including a military map of the principal operations.
- ECONOMIC CONDITIONS**  
(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)
- 882 "Agriculture in Azerbaijan." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 500. Summary of an article by Julien Gautier entitled "Notes agricoles sur l'Azerbaïdjan."
- 883 "Clear the decks." *Filmindia* (Bombay) 13 (My '47) 3-7. A report on a discussion of censorship problems confronting the Indian film industry.
- 884 "Egypt's shortage of leaders." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (My '47) ME 47-8. There is need for training Egyptians in various branches of technology if the natural resources of the country are to be fully realized.
- 885 "India-U. S. agreement on air service." *India and World Aff.* 2 (D '46) 158-65. Complete text.
- 886 "Needs of Turkish railways." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Ap '47) ME 43-4. Relates not only the need for constructing new railways in the country but also the desirability of international competition for Turkish contracts.
- 887 "Taming the Kosi River." *Indian Engineering* (Calcutta) 121 (Ap '47) 173-4. The proposal of a dam across the Kosi river in the neighborhood of Barahakshetra.
- 888 "Turkey is developing Black Sea ports." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (My '47) ME 46. A brief statement of the improvements being made in constructing new roads, railroads, ports, and public buildings.
- 889 "U. S. aid to Turkey." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Je '47) ME 42-3. An impetus to trade is anticipated as a direct result of the aid given to Turkey.
- 890 "The water resources of India." *Indian and East. Engineer* (Calcutta) (Ap '47) 609-12. Discussion of the three main power and irrigation schemes proposed for the country — Damodar Valley, Mahanadi Valley, and Kosi Dam projects.
- 891 ALTUNDAĞ, ŞİNASI. "A brief study of the Osmanli Empire's taxing system." (in Turkish) *Ankara üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Mr-Ap '47) 187-97. Discusses the relationship of the Osmanli taxing system to the general economic organization of the empire. Turkish archival materials are cited and described.
- 892 BELSHAW, HORACE. "Industry and agrarian reform." *Far East. Survey* 16 (Jl 2 '47) 153-6. A discussion of the problems of balanced development in the Far East, India being included.
- 893 BENERJI, ADRIS. "Industrialisation through museums." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (F '47) 74-6. Title? Author urges industrialists to gain kudos and publicity by supporting Indian museums.
- 894 BROMBERGER, E. "The sterling balances and Palestine." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 60-71. Origin and growth of sterling balances; Britain's trade balance; Anglo-American financial agreement; sterling balance agreements; shifting of sterling balances; the case of Palestine.
- 895 CHITTOOR, GEORGE. "Industrial possibilities in western India." *Indian Market* (Bombay) 9 (Ap '47) 11-14. Lists by place and chief industry all the important industrial centers of western India that are of prime interest to Indian and foreign commerce.
- 896 DEWAN, M. L. and DUTT, A. K. "Importance of bone fertilizers." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Mr '47) 435-8. A report of natural phosphate deposits in a form capable of exploitation points up the necessity for utilizing Indian cattle remains.
- 897 EL-FALAKI BEY, MAHMOUD SALEH. "Egypt and the organisation of the international finance today." *L'Égypte Contem-*

- poraine (Cairo) 38 (Ja-F '47) 101-14. The author, director-general of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance, represented his country at Bretton Woods in 1944. He was appointed alternate governor of the New International Bank.
- 898 FRASER, SIR WM. "Middle East oil." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Je '47) ME 46-7. The chairman of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. cites the important fact that the center of gravity of world oil production is shifting to the Persian Gulf area.
- 899 GHALI BEY, MIRRI. "Un programme de réforme agraire pour l'Egypte." *L'Égypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 38 (Ja-F '47) 1-66. This study is largely a translation of the major theses of a work that appeared in Arabic in 1945 which developed a resolution of Le Groupement du Relèvement National, as part of its published program, to "Relever le niveau de vie du paysan par l'extension et la protection de la petite propriété rurale, la limitation de la grande propriété . . ."
- 900 GRIFFITH, A. L. "Soil erosion surveys." *Indian Forester* (Lahore) 73 (Ap '47) 145-54. A model of various types of surveys of Indian soils, and detailed proposals for the types of reports which should be sent to the several interested parties.
- 901 GUPTA, RAJ NARAIN. "Iranian oil." *J. Indian Inst. Internat. Aff.* (New Delhi) 3 (Ja '47) 11-28. Deals with location of the oil fields, production figures, texts of various treaties and agreements with Britain and Russia; figures on dividends and assets.
- 902 HIMADEH, SAID B. "The economic problems of Lebanon and their solutions." (in Arabic) *Al-Abhāth Al-Ijtima'iyah* (Beirut) 8 (D '46) 3-28. A valuable analysis of the problems of overpopulation, agriculture, finance, and trade, with practical solutions, by one of the foremost economists of the Near East.
- 903 HUSSEIN, HASSAN MOHAMED. "Mathematical analysis of company profits in Egypt." *L'Égypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 38 (Ja-F '47) 115-21. "Factorial" or "Multiple-Factor Analysis" of the trade cycle in terms of its main elements in order to discover the factors affecting industrial profits.
- 904 JONES, J. H. "Problems of labour organization in the Middle East." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 119-30. Objective discussion by a trade unionist M.P. who has investigated labor problems in the Middle East.
- 905 KAIL, E. J. "The food problem in India." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 977 (My '47) 296-300. Irrigation and water storage projects plus the extension of scientific farming methods will go far toward solving India's food problem.
- 906 KAMATH, P. V. "Bombay bus drivers — their life and work." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (Mr '47) 308-18. A study by the labor director of the Tata combine reaches the conclusions that the bus-drivers' lot is not a happy one, and that a happier state of affairs might be achieved by "union management co-operation."
- 907 MANGALDAS, SHANTILAL. "Problems of the textile industry." *Indian Market* (Bombay) 9 (Ap '47) 15-18. Urges improvement of the industry's present low estate by labor legislation, textile tariffs, and better management policies.
- 908 MAYARAM. "Minimum wage legislation in India." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (Ap '47) 184-6. The main provisions of the bill drafted by the Government of India are conveniently cited here.
- 909 MUKERJEE, KARUNAMOY. "The famine of 1943 and the nature of land transfer in a village in Bengal." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 309-312. A statistical study of land transfer (usually sale or seizure because of debt) in the village of Ishan-Gopalpur. The end result is less land under cultivation and consequently less food.
- 910 NADIRSHAH, E. A. "An efficient road system." *Indian Market* (Bombay) 9 (Ap '47) 19-22. One of the greatest handicaps to existent Indian economy is the lack of cheap and adequate transport. Specific proposals for roads and types of roads are made not only for the provinces, but also for the States.
- 911 NAIDU, B. V. NARAYANASWAMY. "Rural indebtedness." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (Mr '47) 302-7. Rural indebtedness has reached such proportions as to threaten the agricultural life of the nation. A series of reforms is advocated not only to reduce that indebtedness, but also to increase the yield of the land for the benefit of cultivator and consumer.
- 912 PAPINI, ITALO. "Agricoltura indigena e colonizzazione in Libia." *Africa* (Rome) 2 (Mr '47) 54-6. Continuation of an earlier article, the thesis of which is that in Libya the superior mentality of the natives has enabled them to engage in much closer collaboration with the Italian element than in Eritrea and Somaliland, with, naturally, greater productivity.
- 913 PILLAI, G. S. "Working class families of an aluminum factory." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (Mr '47) 279-88. A statistical case report on 188 permanent employees of a factory in Alwaye, Travancore State. Conditions, while far superior to most of the rest of India, still have a long way to go to meet the minimum of American factory workers.

- 914 PRING, N. G. "The afforestation of the dry and desert areas of north-west India." *Indian Forester* (Lahore) 73 (Ap '47) 170-5. North-west India now has an arid zone extending from the western U. P. to the borders of southern Afghanistan and Persia. Irrigation schemes (some already in existence), shelterbelts, and elimination of indiscriminate grazing practices, can turn this virtual desert into fertile soil.
- 915 RAO, U. R. "The publishing industry." *Indian Market* (Bombay) 9 (Ap '47) 6-8. A brief account of one of India's few booming industries.
- 916 SANDEMAN, R. F. "Forest grazing in the medium and low rainfall belts of Bombay Province with special reference to Satara District." *Indian Forester* (Lahore) 73 (Ap '47) 163-9. Indiscriminate grazing practices, especially of useless cattle, has resulted in driving forests back to the hills and reducing grazing areas in general. Two schemes for alternate closure and grazing are discussed.
- 917 SHARMA, KRISHNA KUMAR. "Nationalization of the reserve bank of India." *India Rev.* (Madras) 48 (Ap '47) 177-9. A brief history of the bank, coupled with a strong argument for its nationalization.
- 918 SUBEDAR, MANU. "Foreign capital." *J. Indian Merchants' Chamber* (Bombay) 40 (Mr '47) 115-23. Text of the speech before the Central Legislative Assembly, Feb. 7, 1947, on a bill to check the possible control of Indian economy by outside (especially British) capital.
- 919 THAKUR, K. P. "Stock exchange stinks." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 314-18. Artificially induced fluctuations in the Indian Stock Exchange have resulted in a state of affairs wherein the commodity market is declining not only in script value, but also in consumer production.
- 920 WADIA, P. A. "The Gandhian approach to economics." *India Quart.* (Delhi) 3 (Je '47) 167-70. Criticizes the interpretation of Gandhian economics which makes a concession for the use of machinery only in key industries, natural monopolies, and public utilities.
- 923 ABRAMSON, S. M. "Ethnographic work among the Kirghiz." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 4 (1946) 215-16. An account of the expeditions and other projects of ethnographic research that have been undertaken among the Kirghiz (Kara Kirghiz) since 1940.
- 924 ABRAMSON, S. M. "On the Semantics of Kirghiz Ethnonemes." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 3 (1946) 123-32. An analysis of the derivation of Kara-Kirghiz tribal names.
- 925 AGAOĞLU, SUREYYA. "Turkish women today and yesterday." *Asiatic Rev.* 43 (Ap '47) 179-81. A concise account of the progress made by Turkish women, chiefly through legislation, during the past fifty years.
- 926 AIYAPPAN, A. "Handmade pottery of the Urali Kurumbars of Wynad, S. India." *Man* 47 (Ap '47) 57-9. Description of the manufacture of primitive pottery by scooping out the inside rather than by the usual coiling method.
- 927 AMIN, AHMAD. "Days have gone and days have come." (in Arabic) *Al-Hilal* (Cairo) (My '47) 50-2. A description of life in a *hārah*, or "quarter," of Cairo where the people formed one family, where life was fairly congested, but not too unhappy.
- 928 AVERY, C. ROBERT, JR., "Muslim life in Turkey today." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 185-91. Treats some of the religious phases observed in Istanbul.
- 929 BRUNSCHVICG, ROBERT. "Le livre de l'Ordre et de la Défense d'al-Muzani." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 145-96. Edition of the Arabic text of the 9th century Shāfi'ite jurist, with introduction, French translation, indices, and short bibliography.
- 930 BURNAND, LEWIS G. "Isles of the blessed: the oases of Kharaga and Dakhla." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 80-9. Surveys the progress that has been made in raising the living standard of these isolated communities of Egypt.
- 931 CHAUDHURI, TARAK CHANDRA RAY. "Vagaries in ethnology." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Mr '47) 219-22. The author takes exception to the various proposed classifications for the racial groups of India; he suggests that a new start be made in determining a terminology in accordance with scientific methodology.
- 932 CHETSINGH, DORIS E. "Adult education in India: the future." *Indian J. Adult Education* (Delhi) 8 (Mr '47) 2-4. Projects for Indian adult education require more boldness of design, more willingness to experiment, and greater necessity for breaking with the past, than any other type of education.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 921 "Bombay's ten year plan." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (Ja '47) 79-87. This is a detailed plan, already partially in operation, to reduce illiteracy among the adult population of Bombay City.
- 922 "Les 'frères musulmanes.'" *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/37 (1er trim. '47) 61-6.

- 933 DAS, TARAKNATH. "An open letter to the Indian public on educational policies of the Government of India." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 279-82. Defends the thesis that the Indian government would get more for its money if it trained in India the bulk of its fellowship students (who, the author claims, are not doing well abroad).
- 934 DATTA-MAJUMDER, NABENDU. "Notes on 'Village notes from Bengal.'" *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (Ap-Je '47) 334-7. Corrections and amplifications by a native of Bengal of a paper published in the *American Anthropologist*, vol. 48, no. 4.
- 935 DJAFARZADE, I. M. "Ethnographic work in the Azerbaijan SSR." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 2 (1946) 216. Brief note on work in progress.
- 936 ELENJIMITTAM, ANTHONY. "My Christian church: adapt or quit." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 891-3. Author labels the attempts of Indian Christians to secure sectarian and communal advantages a "nightmare of churchianity." He urges Indian Christianity to divorce itself from a position which will lead to the establishment of still another caste.
- 937 GARDET, LOUIS. "Arguments d'autorité et arguments rationnels en théologie musulmane." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/37 (1er trim. '47) 3-28.
- 938 GAULMIER, JEAN. "Volney et la Pédagogie de l'Arabe." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 113 ff. A study of the ideas of Volney as expressed in his works from the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries.
- 939 HEGGOY, WILLY N. "The Mozabites of Algeria." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 192-207. An interesting account of the history, religious doctrines, and social life of an aloof, atypical Berber people who are members of the earliest religious sect in Islam, the Kharijites.
- 940 HENNINGER, JOSEF. "Ist in Arabien die rituelle Erdrosselung eines Tieres bekannt?" *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 319-20. On the Arabs' use of the camel as a scapegoat in times of epidemic.
- 941 JARLOT, GEORGES. "Le code libanais du travail." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 116-27. Commentary and discussion of the code introduced in the fall of 1946.
- 942 JAUHARI, H. S. "Visual instruction in the United Provinces." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (Je '47) 120-3. Against the heaviest odds, not the least of which was the war, the visual teaching program in the U. P. has persisted to a point where it is now a recognized feature of the school system.
- 943 KARPOV, G. I. "Ethnographic work in Turkmenistan." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1946) 239-40. Bibliographic note on pre-revolutionary and Soviet ethnographic publications on the Turkomans.
- 944 KARPOV, G. I. "The Gilyaks of Mazanderan." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1946) 219-25. Ethnographic notes on the little-known Gilyak, or Gilani, of northern Iran. Illust.
- 945 KOKIEV, G. A. "S. V. Kokiev, ethnographer of the Ossetian people." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 3 (1946) 133-7. An account of the life and work of the 19th century student of the Ossetians.
- 946 LEVIATOV, V. N. "Museum of the history of Azerbaijan, Academy of Sciences Azerbaijan SSR." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 4 (1946) 220-22. A description of the historical collections of Azerbaijan manufactures in the museum, including textiles, embroideries, copper work, woodwork, and instruments, tools, and looms.
- 947 LEVIN, M. "Expeditions of the Institute of Ethnography in 1945." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1946) 235-8. Page 236 describes briefly a number of expeditions devoted to the study of ethnographic, anthropological, archaeological, and linguistic problems in various parts of Central Asia and Turkestan.
- 948 MASSIGNON, LOUIS. "La Survie d'al-Hallāj. Tableau chronologique de son influence après sa mort." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 131-43. Chronological table covering the period from 310 H/923 A.D. to 1363 H/1944 A.D.
- 949 MOOKERJEE, H. C. "India's international opium policy." II. *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 283-7. Following the Hague conventions, 1912-14, and the activities of the League of Nations, India has accepted the import certificate system, which requires that all exports must be covered by government certificates of the importing country.
- 950 MOSHKOVA, V. G. "An ethnographic expedition among the Turcomans of the Samarkand region." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1946) 241-2. Account of a preliminary reconnaissance of Turkoman tribes made in 1944 as part of a general study of the problem of the ethnogenesis of the peoples of Uzbekistan and Central Asia.
- 951 MOSHKOVA, V. G. "Tribal 'göls' in the motives of Turcoman rugs." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1946) 145-62. An analysis of the motives used by the several Turkoman tribes in woven rugs and covers. The author believes some of them to be totemic symbols. Illust.
- 952 MUGHIR, YASIN. "The tribal problem of Syria." (in Arabic) *Al-Abhath Al-*



- Ijtima'iyah* (Beirut) 8 (D '46) 40-9. A useful sketch of the problem, with historical background, and a suggested answer along the lines of a dissolution of the societal structure as an independent entity. This would necessarily require co-operative action among all the various Arab countries since otherwise the tribes would migrate to other regions where the governmental pressure was less.
- 953 NARAYANAN, K. "The system of examination in India." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (Je '47) 132-3. The author believes that in India, as elsewhere, the examination system has become an end in itself and defeats its purpose of testing a pupil's knowledge. While he does not advocate abolition of the system, he recommends a number of specific reforms.
- 954 PROBST-BIRADEN, J. H. "Le djinn-serpent dans l'Afrique du nord." *En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 99-106.
- 955 RANADE, RAM KESHAV. "Marriage reform in the Bombay Province." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (Ja '47) 67-71. The proposals of Shrimati Lilavati Muni in the Bombay council designed to raise the status of Indian women to a level more nearly equal to that of men.
- 956 RAO, C. HAYAVADANA. "Note on tattooing in India and Burma." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 175-9. Brief survey of occurrences of tattooing in India, together with introductory references to the practice among the ancient Egyptians, the Jews of Biblical times, etc.
- 957 RIGGS, FRED W. "U. S. legislation affecting Asiatics." II. *Far East. Survey* 16 (My 21 '47) 115-7. Includes data on citizens of Middle Eastern countries.
- 958 ROBAKIDZE, A. I. "Ethnographic work of the Academy of Sciences of the Georgian SSR." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 3 (1946) 162-5. A review of work done during the past five years.
- 959 ROWLANDS, J. "The Khabur valley." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 144-9. Description of the modern population — Kurd, Arab, Armenian, Circassian, and Nestorian — of the valley in northern Syria which was a center of civilization in proto-historic times.
- 960 SANTANDREA, FATHER S. "Shilluk Luo tribes in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. J -Luo and Boor." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 225-40. Account of the origin, traditions, culture, and language of some little known tribes related to the Shilluk in the Bahr-el-Ghazal region of the Sudan. Map.
- 961 SCHMIDT, W. "Weitere Mitteilungen über den heiligen Mittelfahl des Hauses." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 309-11. Note on the sacred center pole of houses of Hamites and Nilotes of Upper Egypt.
- 962 SEN GUPTA, S. B. "Pharmaceutical industry in India." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Mr '47) 439-45. With the exception of strychnine and of government-controlled opium alkaloids, the Indian pharmaceutical industry produces only a minute fraction of its essential needs. The field is wide open and practically virgin for foreign enterprise.
- 963 SFER BEY, ANTOUN. "Quelques suggestions en vue de la réforme du conseil d'état." *L'Égypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 38 (Ja-F '47) 67-100. The final part of the author's doctoral thesis on "L'institution d'une justice administration en Egypte."
- 964 SHALIZI, PRITHA KUMARAPPA. "A survey of research studies on children's diets in India." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (Mr '47) 289-301. Examination of a number of surveys conducted throughout India reveals that the chief deficiencies in diet result from an insufficient intake of animal proteins and fats.
- 965 SINDERSON, SIR HARRY. "Some health problems of the Middle East." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 131-43. The author held various important medical posts in Baghdad from 1918 to 1946.
- 966 SOLAGRAM, A. "A successful experiment in visual instruction." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (Je '47) 114-7. Report of the visual instruction experiment conducted continuously since 1937 at the St. Xavier's High School in Bombay.
- 967 SUFI, G. M. D. "The veil or the 'pardah'." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (Mr '47) 268-78. The author shows that the seclusion of women was not a Moslem institution in origin, and that today the worst features of pardah are preserved almost solely in Moslem India.
- 968 SYKES, MARJORIE. "C. F. Andrews — a friend of the poor and the pariah." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 181-8. An account of Andrews' campaigns in South Africa, Fiji, and India against forced labor, color discrimination, and the caste system.
- 969 VERGHESE, G. "Our hospitals." *Tisco Rev.* (Bombay) 15 (Ja '47) 11-13. A history of the TISCO hospital service from its origin in a tent in 1908 to its present, modern, 320-bed hospital.

## SCIENCE

- 970 FENTON, WILLIAM N. "Anthropology during the war: VII. The Arab world." *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (Ap-Je '47) 342-3. The title is somewhat misleading. The survey includes the decade before World War II in the Near East proper, but omits data on Iraq and North Africa.

- 971 MEYERHOF, MAX. "The earliest mention of a manniparous insect." *Isis* 107-8 (My '47) 32-6. Based on a passage from al-Bīrūnī's *K. al-Ṣaydanah* ("The Book of Drug-Knowledge") dealing with a thorny desert plant *alhagi* ("camel thorn") that produces a saccharine exudation (manna) through the actions of an insect living between its leaves. There are some remarks on the manna of the Bible, followed by a bibliography.
- 972 ÜNVER, A. SÜHEYL. "Avicenna's praise of Euclid." *J. Hist. of Medicine and Allied Sciences* (New York) 2 (spring '47) 198-200. Alongside a geometrical figure inscribed on a document found in the Treasury archives of the museum at Topkapi in Turkey there is written a poem in Arabic lauding Euclid. The figure is reproduced and the poem translated.
- 973 WORRELL, W. H. "Note on modern Coptic inks." *Isis* 37 (Jl '47) 149-50. Translation of an ink formula as orally described to the author by a peasant.

## ART

(Archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri)

- 974 ALTMAN, V. "Ancient Khorezmian civilization in the light of the latest archaeological discoveries." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Ap-Je '47) 81-5. A summary of the stimulating report of the Khorezm expedition made by its chief, Professor Sergei Tolstov. The territory covered includes parts of present-day Kalpakistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan.
- 975 BURCKHARDT, TITUS. "Généralités sur l'art musulman." *Études Traditionnelles* 48 (Mr '47) 57-64. Theoretical speculations about the character of Moslem art.
- 976 DANIELOU, ALAIN. "National institutions for the teaching of music." *Visva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 197-203. Argues for a rejuvenation of the study of Indian music with ultimate reference to Sanskrit material through the medium of translation. A detailed collegiate and post-collegiate curriculum is proposed.
- 977 FROLOW, A. "Le Peintre Thomas de Damas et les Mosaïques du Saint Sépulcre." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 121-30.
- 978 LANE, ARTHUR. "Reconsidering 'Hispano-Moresque'." *Burlington Mag.* 89 (Je '47) 164-5. Answer in the form of a "Letter to the Editor" to the critical comments of A. Van de Put (published in the *Burlington Mag.*, April 1947, p. 102) on his earlier article on "Early Hispano-Moresque Pottery: a Reconsideration" (published in the same magazine, October 1946).
- 979 PFISTER, R. "Toiles à inscriptions Abbassides et Fatimides." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 46-90. A thorough study of 66 textiles (mostly of *firās* type) in the author's collection. They date from the 10th, 11th, and early 12th centuries and were made in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Yemen. The Arabic inscriptions were read by J. Sauvaget.
- 980 SAUVAGET, JEAN. "Une ancienne représentation de Damas au Musée du Louvre." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 5-12. Deals with a picture usually attributed to Gentile Bellini or his school, whose subject was interpreted by Schefer as showing the reception of the Venetian Trevisano by the Mameluke Qansuh al-Ghawri in the citadel of Cairo. The scenery shows, however, the Great Mosque in Damascus and the scene is therefore the reception of Venetian merchants by the governor of the province.
- 981 SCHILLING, E. M. "The casting industry of Daghestan." (in Russian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1 (1947) 126-34. A detailed description of the art of making women's belts with buckles of cast lead. The technique is primitive, but the product has preserved the high quality of individual craftsmanship.
- 982 VAUX, R. DE. "Céramique musulmane des X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles à Abū-Gōsh (Palestine)." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 13-30. Examinations of finds made by the École Biblique et Archéologique, Jerusalem, on the property of French Benedictine monks at Qaryat el-'Enab (Abū Gōsh), 13 km. from Jerusalem on the Jaffa Road. The glazed and unglazed pottery comes from a pre-Crusader Khan and can be dated exactly.
- 983 WEIBEL, A. C. "A Persian silk double cloth." *Bull. of Detroit Inst. of Arts* 26 (1947) 60. Discusses a new acquisition of the museum, a red-white double cloth with ships of the period of Shah 'Abbās (ca. 1600).
- 984 WEIBEL, A. C. "Turkish velvet of the sixteenth century." *Bull. of Detroit Inst. of Arts* 26 (1947) 61. A red Bursa velvet with medallions and flowers is discussed.
- 985 WHEELER, R. E. M. "Archaeology in Afghanistan." *Antiquity* 21 (Je '47) 57-65.
- 986 WOOLLEY, LT. COL. SIR LEONARD. "Atchana 1946." *Man* 47 (Ap '47) 60-61. Summary of a lecture on the 1946 excavations at Atchana-Alalakh in north Syria.

## LANGUAGE

- 987 MARKWART, J. "Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios." *Orientalia* 15 n.s. (1946) 286-323.

- 988 RENAUD, H. P. J. "L'origine du mot 'almanach'." *Isis* 37 (My '47) 44-6. Some references to *manākh* (or *al-manākh*) as found in some Moroccan texts, particularly the *Yasāra* of Ibn al-Bannā.
- 989 TREVER, K. V. "The ancient Iranian term 'Parna'." (in Russian) *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR. Ser. ist. i fil.* 4 (1947) 73-84. An etymological, semantic, and historical discussion of the Old Persian term for "youth," as one of the four member-groups of the Achaemenian aristocracy. *Parna* was known to many of the peoples inhabiting Western Asia, and even found an echo in the Russian language in the word *paren'* (youth).

## LITERATURE

- 990 BLOCH, ALFRED. "Die altarabische Dichtung als Zeugnis für das Geistesleben der vorislamischen Araber." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 186-204. The author gives evidence to show that while classical Arabic literature, particularly of the Abbasid period, owes its form to Persian and Turkish influence, the thought stems from pre-Islamic Bedouin poetry.
- 991 BOUCHEMAN, ALBERT DE. "Quatorze chansons de l'Arabie du Nord accompagnées à la rabāba." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 31-46. The songs are given in Arabic writing, in transliteration and French translation with a commentary. The original songs were taken down on phonograph records in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. The young informant Nāser ben 'Assāf comes from the noble family of 'Assāf, belonging to the tribe of Agmān of Central Arabia.
- 992 DJAMBUL, DJABAEV. "Complete works." *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 4 (1946) 230-1. Review by O. A. Korbe. All the songs and poems produced between 1862 and 1945 by the famous Kazak bard. The volume, which includes an essay by M. Pitman-Fetisov on Djambul's genius, is published in Kazak and in Russian-language editions.
- 993 JEFFERY, A. "The textual history of the Qur'an." *J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 35-49. Traces in some detail the variations in the Koranic texts through the Old Codices and the Codex of Uthman to the final acceptance of the Hafs reading.
- 994 MENASCE, P. DE. "Un lapidaire pehlevi." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 180-5. Text and translation of a brief Pahlavi lapidary, with introductory comments.
- 995 NASRALLAH, R. P. J. "Les Manuscrits de Ma'loula (suite et fin)." *Bull. d'Études Orientales* (Damascus) 11 (1945-46) 91-111. A study of eight Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscripts. Continued from *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 9 (1942-43) 103-14.
- 996 UHLENBECK, C. C. "Uralaltaisch und Indogermanisch." *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 315. Reply to an article by Zu D. Sinor, "Ouralaltaïque-Indo-européen," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 36, 1942-44, 226-44, on the possible relationship of Ural-altaic and Indo-Germanic languages.

## BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARIES

- 997 "Dr. Abd ar-Rahman Kayyali." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 76-7. Dr. Kayyali is known for his spirit of tolerance toward minorities.
- 998 "Emil Ghory." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 56. Ghory is a prominent Palestinian propagandist.
- 999 "Lufti al-Haffar." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 76. Brief note on the well-known Syrian industrialist and nationalist.
- 1000 "Mahmoud Hassan Pasha." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 56. Hassan Pasha is a veteran Egyptian diplomat, at present Ambassador to the United States.
- 1001 "Mohammed Fadel Jamali." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 56. Jamali is an Iraqi, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1946.
- 1002 "Dr. Munir al-Ajlani." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 77. Dr. al-Ajlani is an advocate of a Greater Syria as part of an Arab federation.
- 1003 "Professor Phanindra Nath Ghosh." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Mr '47) 427-8.
- 1004 "Rajai Hussein." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 57. Hussein is a well-known Palestinian politician.
- 1005 "Shukri al-Kuwatly." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 76. The subject of this brief sketch is now President of the Republic of Syria.
- 1006 "Sultan Pasha al-Atrash." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (Jl '47) 77. Al-Atrash is the recognized leader of the Druzes who has violently attacked the Syrian Government for discriminating against his people.
- 1007 "Wassif Kamal." *Pal. Aff.* (New York) 2 (My '47) 56. Kamal is a Palestinian and an associate of the Mufti.
- 1008 ADAMS, C. C. "Shaikh Mustafa 'Abd al-Razik." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 246-7.
- 1009 BOMBACI, ALESSIO. "Luigi Bonelli, 1865-1947." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 51-5. Includes the bibliography of this eminent Turkish scholar.
- 1010 GOTTMANN, JEAN. "Jacques Weulersse." *Geog. Rev.* 37 (Jl '47) 507. An obituary notice on the professor of colonial geography who had specialized in Syrian problems.
- 1011 GREENBIE, SYDNEY. "Industrialists of India." *Tomorrow* (New York) 8 (Ag '47) 35-9. An interesting series of biographical sketches of the Tatas, Birlas, Dalmia, Hirachand, and others.

- 1012 MAUGHAM, ROBIN. "Azzam Pasha." *World Rev.* (London) (Ap '47) 21-3. A brief, superficial study of the Secretary-General of the Arab League.
- 1013 RAMANUJAM, T. V. "India's scholar-statesman." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (Ap '47) 176-7. A eulogy of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.
- 1014 RAO, P. RAJESWARA. "Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer: a study." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (Mr '47) 161-3. Biographical notice of one of the leaders of the Liberal Party.
- 1015 ROSSI, E. "P. Anastase Marie el-Karmali, 1865-1947." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 56. Brief note.
- 1016 ROSSI, E. "Shekib Arslan, 1869-1946." *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 56. Brief notice.
- 1017 SATHIANADHAN, PADMINI. "Maharani Sunity Devi." *Indian Home* 10 (Ap '47) 219-22. Biography of the Maharani Dowager of Cochin Berar.
- 1018 SOMOGY, JOSEPH DE. "Ignace Goldziher, 1850-1921." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 244-6.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1019 FRYE, RICHARD N. "Orientalia in Germany and Scandinavia." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Ap-Je '47) 139-41. Provides a list of books published since 1940.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- 1020 HAZARD, HARRY W. "Notes on Haig's tables." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Ap-Je '47) 138-9. A number of corrections of errors in Wolseley Haig's "Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates."
- 1021 ZWEMER, SAMUEL M. "Looking backward and forward from the bridge." *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 173-6. Brief recapitulation of the history of the *Moslem World* (Vol. I, No. 1 was dated January 1911) by its founder and editor as Prof. Calverley becomes the new editor.

## BOOK REVIEWS

- 1022 *New collection of Persian tales.* (in Persian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 3 (1946) 186-7. (A. Z. Rosenfeld). Eleven tales for children. The author conducted a children's program for six years on Radio Tehran.
- 1023 *Strany blizhnego i srednego Vostoka.* *Oriente Mod.* 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 66. (E. Rossi).
- 1024 ABCARIUS, M. F. *Palestine through the fog of propaganda.* *J. Middle East Soc.* 1 (spring '47) 124-5. (E.B.).
- 1025 ABD-EL-JALIL, J. M. *Brève histoire de la littérature Arabe.* *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 229. (Charles H. Schafer).
- 1026 ABEGIAN, M. KH. *A history of ancient Armenian literature.* (in Russian) *Sovetskaya kniga* 2 (F '47) 116-19. (A. K. Dzhevilegov and I. K. Kusikian). Two highly favorable reviews of Abegian's work. The author is praised particularly for having written the history of ancient Armenian literature in the light of Armenia's social struggle, emphasizing the degree to which that people's *Weltanschauung* was reflected in its literary creation even in ancient days.
- 1027 AIYAPPAN, A. *Iravats and culture change.* *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (Ap-Je '47) 294-6. (Nabendu Datta-Majumder). "The book is an analysis of the results of the impact of modern conditions, including Europeanization, on Irava life" in Malabar.
- 1028 ALSDORF, LUDWIG. *Indien.* *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 416-17. (W. Koppers). Of historical-political character. The historical exposition, in the opinion of the reviewer, is of greater value than the political analysis.
- 1029 AMBROSIUS a S. TERESIA. *Bio-Bibliographia Missionaria Ordinis Carmelitarum Discalceatorum, 1584-1940.* *Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 373-4. (Josef Henninger). "Of particular interest for ethnology and linguistics are the publications on South India; next to this Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria are well represented."
- 1030 ANAND, MULK RAJ. *Indian fairy tales.* *Visva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 260-1. (A.B.C.).
- 1031 ANTONIUS, GEORGE. *The Arab awakening.* *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 229-30. (Eric F. F. Bishop).
- 1032 ARBERRY, A. J. *Asiatic Jones: life and influence of Sir William Jones.* *Visva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 248. (P.C.B.).
- 1033 ARBERRY, A. J. *Modern Persian reader.* *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 70. (E. Rossi).
- 1034 BAHMAN, MOHAMMED BAHMAN. *Customs of the tribes of Fars.* (in Persian) *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 3 (1946) 181-6. (N. A. Kishalov). On the Khamseh, Qashqai, Kuh-galui and Mamaseni tribes in southern Iran. "Of exceptional interest in spite of its small size (90 pp.)."
- 1035 BAILEY, F. M. *Mission to Tashkent.* *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 347-8. (Elizabeth Bacon).
- 1036 BAMMATE, HAIDAR (GEORGES RIVOIRE). *Visages de l'Islam.* *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 337-8. (G. E. Von Grunbaum).
- 1037 BARBOUR, NEVILL. *Palestine: star or crescent?* *Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 341-2. (Morris S. Lazaron).
- 1038 BAUSANI, ALESSANDRO. *L'Islamismo.* *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 63. (E. Rossi).
- 1039 BEATTIE, MAY H. *Recipes from Baghdad.* *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 216.



- (Unsigned). "This is not only a collection of recipes Oriental and Occidental, but contains much lore of interest associated with some Arab dishes and beverages."
- 1040 BONNE, A. *The economic development of the Middle East. Oriente Mod.* 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 65-6. (E. Rossi).
- 1041 CORBETT, LIEUT. COL. J. *The man-eaters of Kumaon. Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 207-8. (C. S. Jarvis).
- 1042 COUPLAND, SIR REGINALD. *India: a restatement. Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ap '47) 205-7. (J. C. Curry). "His book deals with the constitutional, the internal factors in the situation, and does not take into consideration in any comparable manner the inescapable external factors in which . . . permanent British as well as Indian interests are involved, and which should therefore be provided for by practical statesmanship."
- 1043 CROSSMAN, RICHARD. *Palestine mission. Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 340-1. (John G. Hazam).
- 1044 CRUM, BARTLEY C. *Behind the silken curtain. Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 340-1. (John G. Hazam).
- 1045 DAVIS, HELEN MILLER. *Constitutions, electoral laws, treaties of states in the Near and Middle East. Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 338-9. (Herbert J. Liebesny).
- 1046 DE WILDE, JAMES C. *The shadow of the sword. Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 230-2. (William E. Lowther).
- 1047 DONAUER, FRIEDRICH. *Auf Apostelwegen in Indien. Der Schweizer Bischof Alois Benziger vom Orden der unbeschuhten Karmeliter. Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 457. (Hugo Huber). The biography of a missionary bishop in India.
- 1048 DOR, LEOPOLD. *Maroc. En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 161-3. (J.-Em. Janot).
- 1049 DUBOULOZ-LAFFIN, MARIE-LOUISE. *Le Bou-Mergoud, folklore tunisien. En Terre d'Islam* (Lyon) 3/38 (2e trim. '47) 159-60. (Paul Mech); *Oriente Mod.* (Rome) 27 (Ja-Mr '47) 70-1. (E. Rossi).
- 1050 FAZY, ROBERT. *L'expédition d'Aelius Galus en Arabie méridionale. Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 345. (Unsigned). Summary of a paper which appeared in *Bulletin de la Société suisse des Amis de l'Extrême-Orient* 5, (1943) 3-31, which explains the failure of the Roman Egyptian expedition as attributable to the nature of the terrain and not to betrayal by the Nabataeans.
- 1051 FEDDEN, ROBIN. *Syria. J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 121-2. (D. T.).
- 1052 FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, C. VON. *The Reddis of the Bison Hills. Royal Central Asian J.* 24 (Ap '47) 209-10. (J. C. C.).
- "This masterly and fascinating study of a tribe of aboriginal Indians . . ."
- 1053 GABAIN, A. VON. *Alltürkische Grammatik. Mit Bibliographie, Lesestücken und Wörterverzeichnis, auch Neutürkisch. Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 379-80. (Ludwig Forrer). "The first detailed grammar written" for Uigur.
- 1054 GHANEM, ROBERT ABDO. *Les éléments de la formation d'un état juif en Palestine. J. Middle East Soc.* (Jerusalem) 1 (spring '47) 125-7. (A. Weinshall).
- 1055 GHIRSHMAN, R. *Fouilles de Sialk près de Kashan 1933, 1934, 1937. Anthropos* 37-40 (1942-45) 410-12. (Josef Henninger). "This publication of Ghirshman offers valuable new insight into the problems of Near Eastern racial and cultural history."
- 1056 GHOSAL, AKSHOY KUMAR. *Civil service in India under the East India Company. Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (Ap '47) 319-20. (Jogesh C. Bagal).
- 1057 GIBB, H. A. R. *Modern trends in Islam. Middle East J.* 1 (Jl '47) 335-6. (Edwin E. Calverley); *Moslem World* 37 (Jl '47) 232-3. (Gloria M. Wysner).
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## ABBREVIATIONS

## ENGLISH

Acad., Academy  
 Amer., American  
 Bull., Bulletin  
 Cent., Central  
 Contemp., Contemporary  
 Dept., Department  
 East., Eastern  
 Geog., Geographical  
 Gt. Brit., Great Britain  
 Hist., Historical  
 Illust., Illustrated  
 Inst., Institute  
 Internat., International  
 J., Journal

Mag., Magazine  
 Mod., Modern  
 Mus., Museum  
 Natl., National  
 Numis., Numismatic  
 Orient., Oriental  
 Pal., Palestine  
 Philol., Philological  
 Polit., Political  
 Quart., Quarterly  
 Res., Research  
 Rev., Review  
 Soc., Society  
 Stud., Studies  
 Trans., Transactions

## ARABIC

K., Kitāb  
 Maj., Majallah, Majallat

## ITALIAN

Mod., Moderno

## RUSSIAN

Akad., Akademii  
 Fil., Filosofii  
 Ist., Istorii  
 Izvest., Izvestiya  
 Lit., Literaturi  
 Otdel., Otdeleniye  
 Ser., Seriya  
 Yaz., Yazika



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